Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra]

Khalifatul Masiḥ I

by
Muhammad Zafrulla Khan[ra]

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About the Author

Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan[ra] (1893-1985) a companion of the Promised Messiah[as]; a man of phenomenal intelligence and memory; a great orator; a prolific writer and a great scholar of comparative studies of religion was born to Ch. Nasrullah Khan at Sialkot. He initiated into Ahmadiyyat, alongwith his parents, at the most blessed hands of the Promised Messiah[as] in 1904. He was educated primarily at Municipal Board School, and then American Mission High School. Though indisposed, he secured first position in the school in matriculation examination when he was only fourteen years of age. He graduated (in first grade) from Govt. College Lahore in 1911 and was the first Indian student who topped London University in LLB final in 1914. He started his career as a lawyer at Sialkot in 1915. Though young for his age and experience, he was elected as a lecturer at Law College Lahore in 1919. He started his political career with selection as a member in Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1926. He successfully pleaded the cause of Muslims with the Indian Round Table Conference held in London in 1930, 1931 and 1932. He was elected as the President of The Indian Muslim League in 1931. For six years he remained member of the Governor-General's Executive Council of British India and served in various fields such as health commerce, archaeology, railways and law etc. During this period he represented undivided India in numerous conferences abroad and had the opportunity to put forth the Two-Nation theory to numerous heads of

states. It was owing to this that he always remained among the reliable associates of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinah.

He became Foreign Minister of Pakistan in 1947, and for many years led the Pakistan delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations. He was President of the Seventeenth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. He crowned his already remarkable career by sitting as judge of the International Court of Justice at the Hague, Holland (1954-1961) first as the Vice President (1958-1961) and then the President from 1970 to 1973.

Among the corpus of Sir Zafrulla Khan[ra] include Translation of the Holy Quran, *Riyāḍ-uṣ-Ṣāliḥīn* [a book of *Aḥādīth*] and *Tadhkira* [collection of the revelations, dreams and *kushūf* i.e. Divine visions of the Promised Messiah[as]]. He also authored more than a dozen of books on various topics of religious and political interest.

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Publisher's Note

The biography of Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra], the companion and the first successor, Khalifa, of the Promised Messiah[as] was written by Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan[ra] and was published sometimes in the eighties (no date of publication was given) in England by the London Mosque, 16 Gressonhall Road, London SW18. We are publishing the second edition of the biography with a new typeset. The first eidition did not have index and references (except those of the Holy Quran). This edition is published with index and most of the references have also been given. We found some spelling and other minor mistakes which have been corrected. However, the text has not been altered and strictly follow the original edition. Another feature of this edition is the transliteration of unfamiliar Arabic, Persian or Urdu words. In this we have followed the system of transliteration of Royal Asiatic Society, which is given below.

The name of Muḥammad[sa], the Holy Prophet of Islam, has been followed by the symbol [sa], which is an abbreviation for the salutation 'may peace and blessings of Allah be upon him.' The names of other prophets and messengers are followed by the symbol [as], an abbreviation for 'on whom be peace.' The actual salutations have not generally been set out in full, but they should nevertheless, be understood as being repeated in full in each case. The symbol [ra] is used with the name of the Disciples of the Holy Prophet[sa] and those of the Promised Messiah[as]. It stands for *Raḍī Allāhu ʻanhu/ʻanhā/ʻanhum* (May Allah be pleased with him/with her/with them).

In transliterating Arabic words we have followed the following system adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society.

ا	at the beginning of a word, pronounced as *a*, *i*, *u* preceded by a very slight aspiration, like *h* in the English word 'honour'.
ث	*th*, pronounced like th in the English word 'thing'.
ح	*ḥ*, a guttural aspirate, stronger than h.
خ	*kh*, pronounced like the Scotch ch in 'loch'.
ذ	*dh*, pronounced like the English th in 'that'.
ص	*ṣ*, strongly articulated s.
ض	*ḍ*, similar to the English th in 'this'.
ط	*ṭ*, strongly articulated palatal t.
ظ	*ẓ*, strongly articulated z.
ع	‘, a strong guttural, the pronunciation of which must be learnt by the ear.
غ	*gh*, a sound approached very nearly in the r '*grasseye*' in French, and in the German r. It requires the muscles of the throat to be in the 'gargling' position whilst pronouncing it.
ق	*q*, a deep guttural k sound.
ء	’, a sort of catch in the voice.

Short vowels are represented by:

a for ـــَــ (like *u* in 'bud');
i for ـــِــ (like *i* in 'bid');
u for ـــُــ (like *oo* in 'wood');

Long vowels by:

ā for ـــاــ or آ (like *a* in 'father');
ī for ى ـــِــ or ـــٖــ (like *ee* in 'deep');

ū for و ـــُــ (like *oo* in 'root');

Other:

ai for ی ـــَــ (like *i* in 'site')♦;

au for و ـــَــ (resembling *ou* in 'sound').

The consonants not included in the above list have the same phonetic value as in the principal languages of Europe.

We have not transliterated Arabic, Persian and Urdu words which have become part of English language, e.g., Islam, Mahdi, Qur'an, Hijra, Ramadan, Rahman, Hadith, Zakat, ulema, umma, sunna, kafir etc.

For quotes straight commas (straight quotes) are used to differentiate them from the curved commas used in the system of transliteration, ' for ع, ' for ء. Commas as punctuation marks are used according to the normal usage.

We are very grateful to Mirza Anas Ahmad M.A. M. Litt. (OXON) and his team—Shaikh Naseer Ahmad, Shahid Mahmood Ahmad and Syed Mansoor Ahmad Bashir—for preparing this edition of the book for publication in the present form with references and index; we are also grateful to them for preparing it in a new format, having corrected typing mistakes found in the first edition. Transliteration was also done by this team.

Publishers

♦ In Arabic words like شیخ (Shaikh) there is an element of diphthong which is missing when the word is pronounced in Urdu.

FOREWORD BY THE AUTHOR

Ḥaḍrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the Promised Messiah[as] and Mahdi, Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement[as] died, after an illness extending over a few hours, at Lahore, on May 26, 1908. He had received repeated warnings of his fast approaching end, in the divine revelations vouchsafed to him, over a period of weeks. Nevertheless, the impact of the event, when it happened, on the members of the Movement, was shattering.

His bitter opponents breathed a sigh of relief, and the more virulent ones expressed unseemly jubilation, that a grave threat to some of their cherished beliefs and doctrines, and the way of life to which they had become addicted, had at last been removed. They conceived that the Movement founded by him would soon pass into the limbo of history, and would be forgotten as an inconsequent ripple on the surface of orthodox Islam.

The sober minded among the Muslims, though not endorsing his claims, felt bereaved of a great champion of Islam, whose death was an irreparable loss. Even non-Muslims acknowledged and paid tribute to his high scholarship, utter sincerity, and the purity and righteousness of his life.

At that fateful hour in the history of the Movement, of Islam, of religion and of mankind, before his sacred remains were reverently committed to the earth at Qadian, on May 27, his foremost and most devoted disciple, Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra], an

eminent divine, a great lover of the Holy Quran, an outstanding and reputed physician, was acclaimed as his spiritual Successor, and the members of the Movement swore allegiance to him in his capacity of Khalīfatul Masīḥ. In that capacity, as ordained by the divine will, he was destined to perform the same role as Ḥaḍrat Abū Bakr[ra], the first Successor of the Holy Prophet[sa] of Islam, had been similarly destined to perform at the time of a far graver crisis in the fortunes of Islam and of mankind, thirteen hundred years earlier. Divine grace enabled Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] to perform that role so well, that by the time of his death, in March 1914, the Movement, which completed its first quarter century about then, had been fully safeguarded against disruption and disintegration. The test came immediately in the shape of a challenge to the very institution of the *Khilāfat*, by a number of well-known prominent members of the Movement, who claimed that they had the support of ninety five percent of the members of the Movement. They were soon undeceived. The bulk of the Movement withstood and defied the challenge firmly, and the Movement has since marched forward from triumph to triumph under the wise and inspiring leadership and fostering care of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ II (1914-1965) and Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ III. By now its branches are strung around the globe, and its membership, which is increasing daily, exceeds ten million. It is being widely recognised as the divinely promised renaissance of Islam (9:33).

The place of Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn, Khalīfatul Masīḥ I[ra], is securely established in the history of the Ahmadiyya Movement and of Islam. Little is, however, known of his life and character, to those members of the Movement and other seekers after truth who are not familiar with Urdu. This is a

humble effort to furnish a concise account of both in English. The author thereby seeks to discharge a minute fraction of the heavy debt of gratitude that he owes to that august, revered, gracious and deeply loved personage from whom he had received numerous personal favours and bounties.

For his facts the author has, except for Chapter XVII, drawn almost exclusively on *Ḥayāti Nūr*, a detailed biography of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ, first compiled by the late Shaikh ‘Abdul Qādir (known as Saudāgar Mal) which is in Urdu. Every statement in that most valuable compilation is vouched for by the citation of the source upon which it is based. But as all the references are also in Urdu it has not been considered necessary to cite them in this volume, as they would serve little purpose so far as the average reader is concerned. A research student will find them easily in *Ḥayāti Nūr*.

All references, unless otherwise specified, are to the Holy Quran.

BACKGROUND

Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was born at Bhera, in the district of Shahpur, Punjab, in 1841. He was the youngest of seven brothers and two sisters. He was the 34th in direct male lineal descent from Ḥaḍrat 'Umar[ra], second Successor of the Holy Prophet[sa] of Islam[sa]. He was thus a Quraishī, Hāshamī, Fārūqī. His father, Ḥāfiẓ Ghulām Rasūl, and at least ten of his immediate male ancestors had committed the Holy Quran to memory. His mother, Nūr Bakht, was an A'wān, belonging to a village a few miles from Bhera. She taught the small children of the neighbourhood the translation of the Holy Quran in Punjabi and instructed them in elementary primers on Muslim jurisprudence. Her youngest child was also similarly instructed by her. In later life he often said that he had heard the Quran recited by his mother while he was in her womb and had imbibed love of the Quran with his mother's milk. She was also his first teacher. His father too was a great lover of the Quran. He was well off and spent large sums of money in procuring copies of the Quran from as far as Bombay and distributing them free.

He was an affectionate, generous and indulgent parent. He set high goals for his children and encouraged them at every step. His distinguished youngest son once observed later, 'My father was so ambitious for us that had he lived at this time he would have sent me to the United States of America in search of knowledge.'

When little Nūr-ud-Dīn grew up he was sent to school. In his younger days classes in school were not crowded; each pupil received the individual attention of the teacher, and thus a personal relationship was established between teacher and pupil. The closer this relationship was, the greater was the benefit that accrued therefrom to the pupil. Private tuition had not yet come into vogue. Teachers were content with their stipends, and employed their spare time in helping deserving and promising pupils with their studies. They were held in great esteem by their pupils who never failed to honour the heavy debt of gratitude that they owed to them. Nūr-ud-Dīn, by the sheer grace of God, achieved great eminence in his life. He always mentioned every one of his many teachers in terms of great reverence and deep gratitude. He enjoyed a happy and contented home life. His eldest brother, Maulawī Sulṭān Ahmad, was a learned divine and took keen interest in his upbringing. Their mother set all of them an excellent example of piety and righteous living, and inculcated in their minds the sublime verities in homely Punjabi. Urdu was not then current in the Punjab. Nūr-ud-Dīn first heard it spoken by a soldier from *Dai'īband* and fell in love with it. He became eager to read Urdu books and derived great benefit from a study of the books written by members of the family of Shāh Walī Ullāh of Delhi. He developed a love of books very early, and began to collect them.

From his very childhood he was averse to the use of foul language, and his playmates were very circumspect in this regard in his company. He was fond of swimming and went swimming in Jhelum river even in winter.

His eldest brother owned a press in Lahore, and had to visit Lahore frequently on that account. On one

occasion, when Nūr-ud-Dīn was about twelve years old, he accompanied his brother to Lahore, where he fell ill and was successfully treated by Ḥakīm Ghulām Dastgīr of Said Mitthttha. Impressed by his manner and his renown, Nūr-ud-Dīn became eager to study medicine; but his brother persuaded him to study Persian and arranged for him to be taught by a famous Persian teacher, Munshi Muhammad Qāsim Kashmīrī, who instructed him so diligently and kindly that he soon acquired a fair degree of proficiency in that language. He took lessons in calligraphy from an expert calligraphist, Mirzā Imam Wardī. Both his teachers were of the Shia persuasion, so that incidentally, their pupil gained some acquaintance with Shia beliefs, doctrines and practices.

On this occasion his stay in Lahore lasted for two years. On his return to Bhera he continued his Persian studies with Haji Mīyāń Sharfuddīn. Shortly after, his brother Maulawī Sulṭān Ahmad also came back to Bhera and started him on a regular course of learning Arabic from him. He adopted a very simple method of teaching him which engaged his interest and won his attention, so that he began to make good progress in learning that supposedly difficult language.

The Punjab had, only a few years earlier, been delivered by the British from the political confusion, misrule, tyranny, bloodshed and insecurity into which it had sunk after the death of Maharaja Ranjīt Singh in 1839. Knowledge, learning and culture were all at a low ebb. Few, even of the Muslim divines, knew the translation of the Holy Quran; and its study was not encouraged. Nūr-ud-Dīn's[ra] interest in the study of the Holy Quran was stimulated at this time by a happy chance. A bookseller of Calcutta arrived in Bhera in

1857 and spent a few days there as the guest of Nūr-ud-Dīn's[ra] father. He urged Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] to learn the translation of the Quran and presented him with a printed copy of five of the principal chapters of the Holy Book together with their Urdu translation. This proved a veritable godsend and Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] took avidly to it.

Shortly after, a merchant from Bombay urged him to study two Urdu books, *Taqwīyyatul Īmān* and *Mashāriqul Anwār*, which were commentaries on portions of the Holy Quran. He made a thorough study of them. Thus was laid the foundation of his devotion to the Holy Book, which became the dominant passion of his life and ruled it to his last breath.

About this time he visited Lahore a second time and started the study of medicine with the famous Ḥakīm Alah Dīn of Gumtī Bazar, but his stay in Lahore was cut short and the study was postponed.

In 1858, at the age of seventeen, he started studying for the diploma of education in the Normal School at Rawalpindi. The headmaster of the school, Maulawī Sikandar 'Alī, was so well pleased with his progress that he dispensed with his attendance in some of the regular classes. He employed the time thus saved to the best advantage in acquiring proficiency in additional subjects, with the help of private tutors. By the end of the four years' course he had fully mastered a wide range of subjects. He did so remarkably well in the diploma examination that at the early age of twenty one he was appointed headmaster of a school in Pind Dādan Khān, a town a few miles from Bhera, across the river Jhelum. He held that office for four years.

While he was at Pind Dādan Khān he continued his study of Arabic under the guidance of his brother Maulawī Sulṭān Ahmad. He also began to have experience of true dreams which contributed towards the development of his spiritual faculties and perceptions. His study of the Holy Quran at an early age had already sharpened his faculty of spiritual discrimination. While he was studying at the Normal School in Rawalpindi, he was persuaded to visit a Mr. Alexander, a Christian missionary, who resided not far from him. The reverend gentleman gave him two handsome books, *Mīzānul Ḥaq* and *Ṭarīqul Ḥayāt*. He read them carefully but found them unconvincing and of little worth.

On one occasion while passing through a hamlet in the outskirts of Pind Dādan Khān, an admirer of his father entertained him very hospitably and when he was about to depart asked him to write out a charm for him, or admonish him, or tell him something which might prove useful or helpful for him. He recited to him the verse of the Holy Quran: 'Tell them: I do not say to you: I possess the treasures of Allah: nor do I know the unseen: nor do I say to you: I am an angel (6:51).'

His resignation from the headmastership came about in a dramatic manner. He described it as follows:

> "'On one occasion the Inspector of Schools arrived while I was at my meal. I invited him to join me. Instead of accepting my invitation, he retorted: 'I am afraid you have not recognised me. My name is Khudā Bakhsh and I am the Inspector of Schools.'

'Oh, indeed. That is well. You are a man of integrity. You do not partake of food offered by a teacher. How good that is!' Having said this I continued with my meal, and he, while holding his pony, waited for me to tell some student to go and hold his pony. When he saw that I made no move, he asked me: 'Kindly tell a student to hold my pony.'

I answered: 'Sir, you are so punctilious that you do not partake of food offered by a teacher deeming it to be a bribe. Then how can I ask a student to hold your pony. They come to school to study and not to serve as stable boys. Besides, you might ask for it to be tethered and fed; but how could the pony be fed when you yourself are not willing to accept the hospitality of a teacher?'

The pony was getting impatient, but in the meantime the Inspector's staff arrived and began to look after everything.

Presently he signified that he would proceed with the examination of the students; whereupon I put the students in order and myself withdrew and sat apart. The Inspector held the examination, and then said to me: 'I have heard that you are very capable, and hold a distinguished diploma from the Normal School. Perhaps that explains your imperious attitude.'

I replied: 'Sir, I do not regard a few square inches of paper as God.' Then I sent for the diploma and tore it into pieces before his eyes, and demonstrated that I did not associate anything with God. The Inspector regretted the

whole incident and blamed himself for having occasioned the loss of my diploma. But the truth is that the tearing up of the diploma became a turning point in my life and opened wide for me the gates of divine bounty.'"[1]

Having been relieved after four years of the restrictions and limitations of service, young Nūr-ud-Dīn, now twenty five years of age, reverted to his favourite pursuit, the seeking of knowledge. His father arranged for him to learn Arabic from Maulawī Ahmad Dīn Sahib of Buggiwala. But that learned divine was then constantly on the move in connection with his project of building a large mosque, and his pupils had to move about with him. Nūr-ud-Dīn spent a whole year in this peripatetic exercise and finding himself little better off at the end of that period, expressed his dissatisfaction to his brother Maulawī Sulṭān Ahmad, who took him to Lahore and committeed him to the care of Ḥakīm Muhammad Bakhsh and some other teachers. Within a few days a fellow student of his persuaded him that they should both proceed to Rāmpur in search of higher education. When he mentioned this project to his father, the latter readily granted him permission and counselled him: 'Go in search of knowledge so far that you should be beyond the reach of news of us; but do not mention this to your mother lest she should be distressed at the prospect of a long separation and seek to dissuade you.'

During his preparation for the journey he recalled the advice of a revered sage: 'Wherever you should take up your residence you should establish friendly relations with the Chief Constable of the town, a good physician, a saintly personage and a leading citizen.'

IN QUEST OF KNOWLEDGE

In his twenty-seventh year Nūr-ud-Dīn set out from Lahore on foot for Rāmpur, in the company of two other seekers after knowledge. The journey proved arduous and occupied several days. They knew no one in Rāmpur and on arrival there betook themselves to a semi-deserted mosque in which they installed themselves. For two days a girl of seven or eight brought them food morning and evening. On the third morning when she came with their food she said: 'My mother begs you to pray that her husband may be inclined kindly towards her.' Nūr-ud-Dīn went with her to her home and admonished her father in suitable and persuasive terms and thus brought about reconciliation between husband and wife, for which manifestation of divine grace he rendered thanks to Allah.

The same afternoon, happening to stroll through the quarter of the Punjabis*, he encountered one Ḥāfiẓ 'Abdul Ḥaq who invited him to move into his mosque. Nūr-ud-Dīn said there were three of them. He was told all three were welcome. He then told their would-be benefactor that they had come to Rāmpur in search of knowledge and should not have to beg for their sustenance, nor to earn it by looking after the children of the quarter, and that they would need books and teachers. He was assured that everything would be looked after. They settled down accordingly and Ḥāfiẓ 'Abdul Ḥaq carried out faithfully all that he

* People belonging to Punjab. [Publisher]

had promised. In these carefree circumstances Nūr-ud-Dīn made rapid progress with his studies.

On one occasion a large company of students was debating an abstruse problem. Having pondered it for a few moments Nūr-ud-Dīn announced he had the answer to it. The bulk of the students, judging from his unprepossessing presence, sought to ridicule him. But the Punjabi students urged that he should be given a hearing, which being agreed to, he suggested that some eminent grammarian should be appointed umpire. Maulawī Ghulām Nabī Sahib, a revered personality, was chosen umpire. He was greatly pleased with Nūr-ud-Dīn's[ra] exposition and referred to him as Maulawī, which the young aspirant esteemed an accolade.

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn, as he may now be justly so designated, was not altogether satisfied with the method of teaching followed in those days. The student was left largely to his own devices and was not provided with needed direction and guidance. He observed later:

> 'I have often felt that if the Muslims were to prescribe text books for schools and educational institutions after due reflection, keeping in mind the religious and secular needs of the students, they would confer a great benefit upon the community. Scattered and unregulated places of instruction create difficulties of diverse types. The greatest difficulty that I encountered was that neither the teachers furnished any guidance on subjects or books of study, nor did the students feel themselves at liberty to adjust their reading to the need of proper development of the faculties and capacities with which God had

endowed them. Nor was any attention paid to the promotion and practice of high moral values. I can affirm on the basis of my own experience that none of my teachers of that time paid any heed to the moral uplift of the younger generation. I deplore this lack to the present day. No teacher of mine took any notice of my actions, words, habits or morals. Nor was any attention paid to matters of doctrine or belief.'[2]

Shāh 'Abdur Razzāq was a godly personage in Rāmpur whom Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] visited frequently. On one occasion he let a somewhat lengthy interval pass between two visits. On his calling next time, he was asked: "Nūr-ud-Dīn, what kept you away for so long?"

He replied: "Sir, I have been busy with my studies, and perhaps I have also been a trifle forgetful."

"Have you ever happened to pass a butcher's shop?"

"Oh, yes, indeed. On several occasions."

"Then, you may have noticed that while carving a carcass, when his knives are blunted by the fat of the animal, he rubs the knives together to remove the fat and sharpen them."

"Yes, Sir: but I fail to follow your meaning."

"Well, it is only this, that absence makes both of us a little forgetful, and a meeting sharpens us both."

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] often observed that he had derived great benefit from this admonition of Shāh 'Abdur Razzāq. The company of the righteous stimulates spiritual alertness.[3]

He spent about three years in Rāmpur, and carried on his studies with so much diligence that he fell seriously ill. His illness revived his eagerness to study medicine. On enquiry he discovered that the most distinguished physician in the country was Ḥakīm ‘Alī Ḥusain Sahib of Lucknow. He immediately resolved to set out for Lucknow. On his way he stopped in Murādabād and there fell in with a saintly personage, Maulawī ‘Abdur Rashīd of Benares*, who ministered so well to his comfort that he was restored to full health within a few weeks. He always entertained a lively recollection of the many kindnesses he received from him and was deeply grateful to him.

Maulawī ‘Abdur Rashīd was celibate and lived very simply in a chamber attached to a mosque. Late one evening a guest arrived and he was hard put to it how to procure food for the guest. He asked him to lie down and relax while a meal could be got ready. The guest lay down and fell asleep. Maulawī ‘Abdur Rashīd washed as for Prayer, and seating himself facing the Kaaba began to supplicate: 'I entrust my cause to Allah. Verily, Allah sees *all His* servants' (40:45). He became absorbed in his supplication, and after the lapse of a period which would have sufficed for the preparation of a dish, he heard someone call out: "Sir, please come quickly, my hand is being scorched." Maulawī ‘Abdur Rashīd got up and found that a person was holding out a large copper plate full of piping hot rice cooked in the juice of meat. He took it, awakened his guest and served him the delicious food. The copper plate remained in the chamber and was not claimed by anyone, despite repeated announcements by Maulawī ‘Abdur Rashīd that its

* Current name of this city is Vārānasi. [Publisher]

owner should remove it. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] himself had, on numerous occasions, his needs fulfilled in an extraordinary manner beyond his conception, in accord with the divine assurance set out in the Holy Quran: 'And he who fears Allah—He will make for him a way out, And will provide for him from where he expects not. And he who puts his trust in Allah—He is sufficient for him.' (65:3-4).

Departing from Murādabād, Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] stopped at Kānpur for one day with a friend of his brother, and then continued his journey to Lucknow. It was the height of summer, the road was dusty, and by the time he was deposited at his terminus in Lucknow, he was covered with dust and looked wild and unkempt. As soon as he emerged from the vehicle by which he had travelled, he inquired from someone where could he find Ḥakīm 'Alī Ḥusain. He was told Ḥakīm Sahib lived just opposite. He lifted his bundle and marched unceremoniously into the building, just as he was. Beyond the entrance he beheld a large room, at the farther end of which was seated an angelic personage, white bearded, handsome, attractive, clad in snowhite garments, supported and flanked by nice cushions. In front of him were arranged, in an orderly manner, the paraphernalia that he might wish to make use of. Along the walls were seated several respectable persons in a respectful attitude. The floor was covered over with the whitest of sheets. The whole scene struck the traveller as a revelation. He had never witnessed the like of it before. However, nothing daunted, he placed his bundle in a corner of the entrance and advanced boldly into the room, making straight for the central figure who, he rightly surmised, was Ḥakīm Sahib himself. His dusty feet left an uncouth pattern on the white floor covering, which

embarrassed him somewhat, but there was no helping it. Arriving in front of the revered personage he greeted him in a resounding voice with: "*Assalāmu Alaikum*" (Peace be with you), and extended his hands. Ḥakīm Sahib returned his greeting gently and clasped his dust covered hands in his own delicate ones. The visitor seated himself opposite Ḥakīm Sahib. The company were outraged by the whole proceeding. Even his greeting sounded outlandish in their ears. One of them, a leading personality, could not restrain himself and enquired: "Sir, which civilised region do you hail from?" He answered: "This lack of ceremony and my bold greeting are the result of the teaching of the unlettered one of a barren valley, who had at one time been occupied with grazing goats and may my father and mother be his sacrifice." His words struck the company like lightning, and Ḥakīm Sahib was overwhelmed with emotion. He asked the questioner: "You have been a courtier of the King, have you ever been so confounded before?"

After a short pause Ḥakīm Sahib enquired from his visitor what was his errand, and was told that he had arrived to learn medicine from him. To this Ḥakīm Sahib made answer: "As you see, I have grown old and do not find teaching agreeable. I have made a firm resolve to teach no more." The visitor countered in an agitated and pained tone with: "Then the Shirāzī philosopher was mistaken in affirming that it is sinful to offend a human heart." Ḥakīm Sahib was deeply moved, and on reflection suggested: "Maulawī Nūr Karīm is a very able physician. I shall recommend you to him. He will teach you well." The visitor had recourse to another Persian adage: "God’s earth is vast and I have a strong pair of legs." To this Ḥakīm Sahib surrendered completely and observed: "I give up my resolve."

Ḥakīm Sahib retired and the company dispersed. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] took up his bundle and made his way to the house of 'Alī Bakhsh Khān, a friend of his brother, who welcomed him and made him comfortable. He washed and changed and then moved into quarters allotted to him by 'Alī Bakhsh Khān where he was to fend for himself. His first attempt to bake bread was a complete failure. In his frustration he supplicated: "Lord, I know nothing about baking or cooking. To allot this task to one such as me would only mean a waste of Thy provisions."

Clean and refreshed and being now properly dressed, he returned to Ḥakīm Sahib who reproved him gently for his absence: You disappeared without taking leave, which does not behove a pupil. This is where you should live, but should you prefer to stay elsewhere, you must eat here. He then enquired: "How much proficiency are you seeking in medicine?" His reply was that he aimed at being the equal of the greatest physician who ever lived. Ḥakīm Sahib smiled and said: "You will reach somewhere. Had you aimed any lower, I would have been disappointed."

Ḥakīm Sahib started him on a course; but he was not content with one lesson a day. He sought to arrange supplementary courses, but nothing satisfactory turned up, though he took lessons also with Maulawī Faḍlullāh of Farangī Maḥal. He then decided to ask Ḥakīm Sahib's leave to return to Rāmpur. When he mentioned his design to Ḥakīm Sahib, he was asked: "Tell me is it better for a man like me to continue in practice, or to accept a suitable offer of service." Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] counseled the letter and gave his reason, which greatly intrigued Ḥakīm Sahib, who then showed him a telegram which he had shortly before received from Nawab Kalb 'Alī

Khān, Ruler of Rāmpur, in which he was offered suitable employment and was urged to proceed quickly to Rāmpur and treat ‘Alī Bakhsh, a favourite retainer of the Nawab who was seriously ill. Ḥakīm Sahib said: "Now that you have so advised me, I will accept the Nawab’s offer, and we shall both proceed to Rāmpur."

After arriving at Rāmpur, Ḥakīm Sahib urged Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] to pray for the recovery of ‘Alī Bakhsh. He said he felt no inclination towards it and apprehended that the patient would die; and so it happened. Another Ḥakīm, Ibrāhīm, also of Lucknow, decried Ḥakīm Sahib’s treatment of ‘Alī Bakhsh in the presence of the Ruler, which vexed Ḥakīm Sahib. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] sought to comfort him by the assurance that life and death were in the hands of God, and that it was not unlikely that someone similarly afflicted as ‘Alī Bakhsh might die under the treatment of Ḥakīm Ibrāhīm. Within a short time another retainer of the Nawab was so afflicted and died under the treatment of Ḥakīm Ibrāhīm despite the latter’s hopeful prognosis. This put a stop to Ḥakīm Ibrāhīm’s running down of Ḥakīm Sahib.

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn’s[ra] training under Ḥakīm Sahib, supplemented by his own diligence and keen intellect, progressed apace. His mentor constantly tested him and always found him well above the mark, so that he soon began to respect his judgment and to rely upon it. The promising pupil did not, however, confine his studies to diagnosis and treatment of diseases. His thirst for knowledge was as sharp as ever. On one occasion he approached Muftī Sa‘dullāh to read *Mutanabbī* with him, but the learned Muftī put him off drily on the score of lack of time. He turned away with the observation: "Well Sir, I shall wait till

you beg me to read with you." On returning to Ḥakīm Sahib he enquired from him: "Sir, what does knowledge profit a person?" He replied: "Knowledge helps the cultivation of high morals; but why do you ask?"

> "Sir, I had approached Mufti Sa'dullāh to permit me to read *Mutanabbī* with him; but he put me off drily on the score of lack of time."

Ḥakīm Sahib immediately despatched a letter to the Mufti, requesting him to call on his way home from his office. When the time approached he told Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] to wait in an adjoining room. On the Mufti's arrival, after the exchange of customary civilities, he asked him: "Mufti Sahib if I wished to learn something from you, would you be willing to spare the time?"

> "Certainly, I am ever ready and eager to serve you."

> "And if someone whom I esteem as my spiritual preceptor made that request to you?"

> "In his case I would be happy to go to him myself, wherever he is."

Shortly after Ḥakīm Sahib summoned Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn. On seeing him Mufti Sahib burst out laughing and said: "Come, Sir, now I beg you to read with me."[4]

On one occasion a group of students debated the question whether persons who had achieved spiritual eminence were inclined to impart their wisdom to others. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] affirmed the positive and the rest supported the negative. In the end it was decided to submit the question to Amīr Shāh Sahib, a person of acknowledged spiritual

eminence, who heard both sides and intimated that Nūr-ud-Dīn was right. When the latter was about to leave Amīr Shāh Sahib said to him: "Let me tell you something that you should note carefully. When a person comes to you with a problem, turn to God and supplicate: Lord, I did not send for this one. Thou hast directed him to me. If thou dost not approve of that which he seeks, I do repent of the sin on account of which thou hast created this occasion for my humiliation. Thereafter, if the person persists in seeking your counsel, implore God for guidance and advise him as may seem best to you."

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] derived great benefit from this admonition of Amīr Shāh Sahib.

He remained attached to Ḥakīm ʻAlī Ḥusain for over two years and asked leave of him after he had bestowed his formal testimonial upon him. Ḥakīm Sahib enquired whither he was now bent. He submitted that he desired to continue his study of Arabic and of Hadith (Traditions of the Holy Prophet[sa]). Ḥakīm Sahib suggested he should go to Mīratth and study with Ḥāfiẓ Ahmad ʻAlī, and thereafter proceed to Delhi and study with Maulawī Nadhīr Ḥusain. He also offered to support him adequately at both places.

On arrival in Mīratth he discovered that Ḥāfiẓ Ahmad ʻAlī had gone to Calcutta, and he proceeded to Delhi. There he found that Maulawī Nadhīr Ḥusain was being prosecuted for a political offence and was also not available. Thus frustrated he determined to go to Bhopāl and set out on the journey. In Gwalior he met a revered personage who had been a disciple of the well known saint Ḥaḍrat Sayyid Ahmad Sahib of Barailly, and decided to spend some days in his company. When he resumed his journey, a young Afghan, Maḥmūd, joined him as his travelling

companion. They arrived footsore and weary in Gunnah Cantonment, hardly able to move, and settled down for the night in a semi-deserted mosque. A worshipper arrived in the mosque for Prayer quite late. On being asked the reason for his delay he explained that at one time the mosque was well attended for Prayer services but unfortunately a controversy arose among the worshippers over certain minor points of ritual and the differences became so acute that serious bloodshed was apprehended, to obviate which it was decided that everyone should pray at home. This particular worshipper could not reconcile himself to this and came to the mosque for worship at a late hour when no one could observe him. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] suggested to him that the next day he might call the worshippers to the mosque, so that an attempt might be made to resolve the controversy. He left and soon returned with a dish of rice which sufficed for both travellers. The following day he brought a large number of worshippers to the mosque, who were so persuaded by the exposition of Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] that they agreed to resume attendance at the mosque for Prayer services.

SOJOURN AT BHOPAL

The travellers had advanced only a few miles beyond Gunnah Cantonment when a peasant warned them that they should change their route as the area ahead of them was infested with the cholera epidemic. Maulawī Sahib suggested that they should heed the warning, but Maḥmūd made light of it saying that it was but the assertion of a single individual which was not worthy of credit. A few minutes later Maḥmūd suffered an attack of cholera. They were refused admission to a neighbouring village and perforce bivouacked in the shade of a tree. Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] occupied himself diligently with the treatment and nursing of his travelling companion, but he succumbed after two or three days of illness. The headman of the village was persuaded to arrange for the digging of a grave only on payment of a large sum of money. Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] performed the last offices and carried out the burial single handed. All the anxiety, fatigue and privation that he had endured had rendered him weak and helpless.

Presently the headman came running to him in great perplexity. His only son was suffering from cholera and he begged Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] to go to his house and treat the boy, which he did. As a result of his treatment and ministrations the boy rallied and began to mend. Thereafter he treated successfully several other patients in the village. The headman and his wife entertained him and looked after him. The headman not only returned to him the money that he

had received for arranging the digging of Maḥmūd's grave, but also transported him and his bundle to Bhopal.

Arriving in Bhopal he deposited his bundle in a traveller's inn outside the gates, tidied himself and, taking only one rupee with him, headed towards town. On the way he took a meal at a baker's which cost him half a rupee. Having obtained permission from the guard at the gate he entered the town and soon discovered that he had somehow lost his remaining half rupee. When he returned to the inn he found his bundle intact, but the money had disappeared. The next day he was carrying his bundle into town when passing the baker's shop where he had eaten the previous day, the baker hailed him and invited him to eat. He deposited his bundle with him and ate a hearty meal.

Inside the town he came upon a large mosque, agreeably situated on the edge of a pond. He found it a pleasant place and spent most of his time in it. After he had passed two or three days without any nourishment he felt very weak and apprehended that he would not survive for much longer. After the afternoon Prayer service he stretched himself out on a platform on one side of the mosque in a cold sweat. Munshi Jamāluddīn, Chief Minister of the State, who had attended the Prayer service, and who may have noticed him, sent the Imam of the mosque to enquire about him. The Imam's queries met with curt responses from the weary stranger who was at the end of his tether. On the Imam's report the Chief Minister himself, attended by his entourage, came over and put some questions to him, and then asked him to examine his pulse, which he did and told him he had

indigestion. On the Chief Minister requesting a prescription he dictated a very costly one.

The Chief Minister then signalled his retainers to withdraw and asked him to dine with him. He declined, saying he was in no mood to dine, on which Munshi Jamāluddīn reminded him: "The Holy Prophet[sa] has prescribed acceptance of an invitation." To this he yielded and signified acceptance. A short while after, a messenger arrived and told him to accompany him to the Chief Minister's residence. He intimated he had not the strength to walk. The emissary offered to carry him on his back, and thus transported him to the Chief Minister's residence and deposited him next to the Chief Minister in the dining room. What followed may be set down in Maulawī Sahib's own words:

> "Dinner was served, and I considered what should I eat. Rice cooked in the juice of chicken was my favourite, and I gatered* a morsel and then apprehending that after long starvation it might choke me I put it aside. I then took up a bowl of chicken broth and sipped a little of it. This revived me immediately. I took another sip and then began to eat it slowly. Thereupon the host sent for the chef and enquired: 'What is wrong with the rice dish?' He answered: 'Nothing, except that the chicken was overdone at one spot and I covered it up at the bottom of the dish.' He was then asked: 'What is the best dish this evening?' The chef answered: 'The broth'. In short I ate a quantity of the broth which revived me completely.

* A misprint in the original. Probably 'gathered'. [Publisher]

> After dinner Munshi Sahib talked to me apart and asked my particulars. I told him I was from the Punjab and had arrived in Bhopal in search of knowledge. I conceived that he thought I was a prosperous and learned person who had fallen into adversity, and that my alleged search for knowledge was only a pretension. So he told me I would be his guest and that he would arrange for my instruction. He allotted a quarter for my residence, and directed his librarian to let me have free access to the books. He also had my own books and bundle sent for, and appointed Maulawī ‘Abdul Qayyūm Sahib as my teacher. I began to study *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī* and *Hidāyah* with him."[5]

Munshi Jamāluddīn gave a lesson of the Holy Quran every evening. One day Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] also attended the lesson. The verse: "When they meet those who believe they assert: 'We believe;' but when they are in the company of their fellows..." (2:77) was under exposition. He asked permission to raise a point, which being granted, he said: In this verse and in 2:15 the reference is to the hypocrites of Medina. Here they are described simply as their fellows. In 2:15 they are described as satans. There must be a reason for this discrimination. Munshi Sahib confessed he could not think of one, would Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] set it forth. He suggested that there were two categories of hypocrites in Medina. One from among the Jews, and the other from among the pagans. In the verse under exposition the reference was to the Jews, and as they were people of the Book they were described simply as the fellows of their brother hypocrites. In 2:15 the reference was to the pagans and they were castigated as satans. Munshi Sahib was so struck by this exposition that he moved

from his seat and invited Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] to occupy it and continue the lesson. He also indicated that henceforth the latter would give the lesson and he himself would attend it to profit from his erudition.

On one occasion during the course of an official proceeding over which Munshi Sahib was presiding in his capacity of Chief Minister, the Qāḍī made a disrespectful reference to Ḥaḍrat Shāh Isḥāq. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn, who happened to be present, was gravely offended and withdrew immediately. That evening he did not join Munshi Sahib at dinner, on which account the latter also did not dine. The next afternoon he enquired where was Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] likely to offer afternoon Prayer. He was told that the likeliest place was the mosque next to the quarter that he occupied. Munshi Sahib went to the mosque and finding Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] occupied in Prayer sat down next to him on his right. When he concluded and, as prescribed, turned his face to the right and pronounced: "Peace be on you and the mercy of Allah"; Munshi Sahib exclaimed: "Aha, so you are pleased to greet me;" and clasping his hand raised him up. He led him out of the mosque and seating him in his carriage directed the coachman to drive out of town. When the town had been left well behind he expostulated: "Yesterday, you kept me hungry also." Maulawī Sahib replied: "Ḥaḍrat Shāh Isḥāq was maligned in your presence, and 1 am a devoted admirer of his."

Munshi Sahib enquired: "Did you ever meet Ḥaḍrat Shāh Isḥāq?"

"No,"

"I learnt the Holy Quran from Shāh Sahib. I was a bigoted Shia. In Delhi our house was close to

his and I had frequent occasion to walk past it. Eventually, I began to attend his lesson of the Holy Quran, and the result is as you see."[6]

Munshi Sahib then related the whole story of his changing from a bigoted Shia to a devout Sunni, and concluded with: "I am thus a great admirer of Shāh Sahib. Yesterday's incident occurred in the course of an official proceeding, and I did not deem it expedient to intervene. These people are narrow minded. You should not pay too much attention to them."[7]

They drove back to town and dined together in the evening. Peace was restored.

As has been mentioned, Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] studied *Bukharī* and *Hadāyah* with Maulawī 'Abdul Qayyūm Sahib. He was coached by the Muftī of Bhopal in the forty traditions of the Holy Prophet[sa] which have been transmitted from mouth to mouth, through a lengthening chain of narrators down the centuries. The Mufti had been instructed in them by Muhammad bin Nāṣir Ḥaḍramī, who was a most pious person and a model of contentment. Munshi Jamāluddīn Sahib related the following incident as an illustration:

> "Muhammad bin Nāṣir Ḥaḍramī was a well known personage of great piety. On one occasion when he visited me, I placed a bag of one thousand rupees before him intending it as a present. I noticed that he was displeased, and quickly moved the bag in front of myself. He smiled and said: 'I had intended to recite the forty Hadith to you, but when you put the money before me I was annoyed and surmised that you were a worldly person. I would have

accepted the money but would not have recited the Hadith to you. I now find that you are a person of discernment, and I shall be glad to visit you and recite the Hadith to you. I am not in need of money. My date gardens produce enough dates to take care of all my needs. I also own a number of camels. I go on Pilgrimage to Mecca every year. I load one camel with dates, and a servant rides that camel. I ride another camel which also carries a supply of water. What more does one need? Praise be to Allah.' "[8]

Munshi Sahib mentioned that Ḥaḍramī talked fast and words poured out of his mouth effortlessly; but all his vocabulary was drawn from the Holy Quran and Hadith.

Munshi Sahib's domestic economy was very simple. On one occasion he mentioned that in all his years in Bhopal he had not spent altogether more than three rupees for the purchase of meat. He ate only one full meal a day and invited several persons to it. A kilogramme of shoulder of mutton was all the meat that was needed daily. An animal was purchased for him every morning for three rupees. When it was slaughtered the kilogramme of meat required for his kitchen was reserved and the rest was offered for sale on the spot at a fair price. People quickly bought what they needed, and the proceeds of the sale, no more than three rupees, were restored to Munshi Sahib. He had no doubt recourse to similar devices for his other domestic needs. Yet he was very generous and open-handed. He had, for instance, settled a whole quarter of the town for the accommodation of blind people, who were looked after at his expense. He took great interest in their welfare. He arranged for their marriages among themselves, and took great pleasure

in their bright-eyed children for whom he had established a school.

While in Bhopal Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] had an attack of very high fever during which his mouth began to run with stinking black saliva. He consulted Ḥakīm Farzand ‘Alī who told him that he was mortally afflicted with an incurable virulent distemper, and that he should immediately go home. Soon after, a venerable personage, who was superintendent of students, called on him and complained that being of advanced age his mouth watered constantly and asked him for a prescription. He advised him to try jam of olives, cardamom seeds and gold leaf. He returned presently with a jar of the jam and a quantity of cardamom seeds and gold leaf which he presented to him saying: "You have the same trouble as I have, so I have brought you your own prescription which you might also try." Maulawī Sahib thanked him for his kindness, and found that repeated use of the concoction soon affected a complete cure.

On one occasion he had two waistcoats made of very fine cloth. Before he had occasion to wear either of them, one was stolen. He felt no distress at the loss, and believing that God would provide him with a better substitute, he recited sincerely: "To Allah we belong and to Him shall we return" (2:157) and gave away the other waistcoat in charity. A few days later the son of a wealthy citizen began to suffer from gonorrhea and requested a friend to fetch a physician who should not be well known. The friend was acquainted with Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra], and asked him to visit the young man. On hearing the particulars the Ḥakīm remarked: "This is only my lost waistcoat", and accompanied the emissary to the patient whom he found sitting in a garden. The patient described his

symptoms and requested some prescription that he could fill himself. There were some banana trees in the garden and the Ḥakīm[ra] prescribed a mixture of banana water and a calcium compound which was readily available. The patient immediately prepared the concoction and swallowed it. The physician departed, and on his next visit the following day the patient told him that the very first dose had cured him, and that he did not need any further treatment. The physician realised that the whole episode was a manifestation of divine grace. The next day the patient's friend brought him several dresses of brocade and rich costly stuff, and a large sum of money in cash, which the patient had sent him as a mark of his gratitude. The physician again remarked: "This is the same waistcoat of mine." The emissary wanted to know what was the mystery of the waistcoat. The Ḥakīm explained it to him, and then told him, that as he could make no use of the rich dresses, they should be sold and the money handed over to him. They fetched a good price, and with the cash he now had so much money that he made up his mind to go to the Ḥijāz on Pilgrimage.

When the time came for him to depart from Bhopal, he took affectionate leave of Munshi Jamāluddīn Sahib, and then accompanied by a large company of divines and the elite he went to say good-bye to Maulawī 'Abdul Qayyūm Sahib. On parting with him he requested him to tell him something that might stand him in good stead and keep him happy. He was told: "Do not seek to be God, or His Messenger." He submitted: "Sir, I am unable to grasp your meaning, and I doubt whether anyone of this large company of divines has grasped it either."

"Well, then, how do you esteem God?"

"Sir, one of His attributes is that He carries through whatever He wills."

"Right. That is what I meant. When any of your designs is frustrated, you should remind yourself you are not God. A Messenger of God receives God's commandments and knows that those who disobey him would be condemned to hell. He is, therefore, grieved at their disobedience. If anyone rejects your counsel, he would not necessarily incur God's wrath. So you would have no cause to grieve over him."[9]

Departing from Bhopal, he stopped at Burhānpur where his father's friend, Maulawī Abdullah, received him graciously and entertained him well. On parting he gave him a basket of sweets. When he opened it he found in it a draft for one thousand rupees drawn upon a merchant in Mecca and some cash. He used the cash but did not present the draft for payment.

Maulawī 'Abdullāh had had an interesting career. He belonged to Sāhīwāl in the district of Shāhpur. Somehow he contrived to arrive in Mecca to perform the Pilgrimage. He had no means of subsistence and took to begging. One day it occurred to him that if he fell ill he would be utterly helpless. He repaired immediately to the Kaaba and clutching a corner of its covering made the pledge: "Lord, I cannot see Thee, but holding on to the covering of Thy House, I promise Thee that I shall henceforth never beg from any creature of Thine." Having made his pledge, he let go of the covering and stepping back sat down. Presently someone approached and put six pice in his hand. As he had not asked anyone for anything he took the pice, fed himself on two pice worth of bread and bought matches with the remaining four pice

which he sold for six pice. He re-invested his small capital in matches, which he sold for nine pice, and went on repeating his venture, so that by sunset he had gained four annas (sixteen pice). Within a few days his bundle of matches became too heavy. He then switched over to female toiletries. His business continued to flourish and having made some money he returned to Bombay, where he would buy copies of the Holy Quran and sell them in the surrounding towns and villages. This business of his prospered so well that on one occasion he purchased copies of the Holy Quran worth thirty thousand rupees and transporting them to Bhera sold them all at a good profit to Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn's[ra] father. Eventually he became a cloth merchant, built a house in Burhānpur and settled down there. He said his practice was that he charged only a small profit and sold out quickly.

In Bombay Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] met Maulawī 'Ināyatullāh and asked him to procure for him a copy of Ḥaḍrat Shāh Walī Ullāh's booklet *Fauzul Kabīr*, which he was eager to read and possess. Next day he was told that the booklet was available for fifty rupees. He immediately handed over a note of the value of fifty rupees and, grabbing the booklet, got up to depart. Maulawī 'Ināyatullāh asked him why was he in such a hurry. He explained that as some jurists were of the view that a sale was not concluded till the parties had separated, he was eager to conclude his bargain beyond any risk of revocation. Maulawī 'Ināyatullāh asked him to return soon. On his return the Maulawī in appreciation of his fondness for books returned the fifty rupees to him, despite his assurance that he had enough money and could well afford the sum.

IV

ḤIJĀZ INTERLUDE

From Bombay Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] took ship for Jiddah. On board he found five intending pilgrims who belonged to his part of the country and who looked after him and made him comfortable in every way. The overland journey from Jiddah to Mecca was performed by camel. He had heard that a supplication made on first sighting the House of Allah was always granted; so when he beheld the Kaaba from a rise when approaching Mecca, he supplicated: "Lord I am ever in need of Thy succour. I beseech Thee, therefore, that whenever I supplicate Thee, of Thy mercy grant my supplication." He was not quite sure of any authority for the common belief in the acceptance of every supplication made on obtaining the first glimpse of the Kaaba, but his subsequent experience convinced him that his supplication made on that occasion had been granted.

In Mecca he took up his residence with a pious person, somewhat advanced in age, who was known as Makhdūm, and started studying Hadith with three outstanding scholars. He studied *Abū Dā'ūd* with Shaikh Muhammad Khazrajī, *Muslim* with Sayyid Ḥusain and *Mu'atta* with Maulawī Raḥmatullāh. Of these he continued longest with Sayyid Ḥusain, who spoke little and whose vocabulary was confined to Hadith. Maulawī Raḥmatullāh told him that he had known Sayyid Ḥusain for twenty years and was not aware of anyone with whom he was intimate, nor could he guess how he made his living. Maulawī Nūr-

ud-Dīn[ra] noticed that when people approached Sayyid Ḥusain and sought his guidance, he would advise one to make a habit of remembering God by calling on Him as *Yā Bāsiṭ* (O Thou of vast bounty) and another to call on Him as *Yā Ghanī* (O Self Sufficient One) or *Yā Ḥamīd* (O Praiseworthy One) or *Yā Majīd* (O Exalted One) etc. He had it in mind to enquire from him about the wisdom underlying his advice, but could not venture out of respect for his taciturnity.

Maulawī Raḥmatullāh was an erudite divine who was famous for his great skill in debate, particularly in refutation of current Christian doctrine. Unlike most divines he never reacted sharply to opposition. Even in the face of stubborn obtuseness he never lost patience, and kept smiling and urbane.

Shaikh Muhammad Khazrajī was well versed in the six principal compilations of Hadith. On one occasion in the course of his lesson of *Abū Dā'ūd*, a slight difference emerged between the teacher and the pupil on the question when should the period of *Ai'tikāf* (Retreat into the mosque during the last ten days of Ramadan) be deemed to commence. The Shaikh felt the question was difficult. If *Ai'tikāf* was started on the morning of the twenty-first, there was the possibility that the preceding night might have been the *Lailatul Qadr*. It could not be started on the afternoon of the twentieth, as the Holy Prophet[sa] preferred starting it in the morning. On this Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] remarked that there was no difficulty. *Ai'tikāf* could be started on the morning of the twentieth. The Shaikh observed: "That would be opposed to consensus."

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn: "Sir, I would respectfully draw your attention to the observations of Imam Ahmad bin Hambal on the subject of consensus. It

merely signifies the view of the majority of the jurists of any particular school."

This gave great umbrage to the Shaikh, who spoke not a word through the rest of the lesson. In the afternoon Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] went for his lesson to Maulawī Raḥmatullāh, who enquired from him: "Did you debate something with your Shaikh this morning?"

"Sir, there can be no debate between a pupil and a teacher. I am but a student, and the Shaikh is a great divine. I had only tried to clear up a small point."

"It must have been an important question. The Shaikh came to me and said: 'Some students are too venturesome and create difficulties.' He then related the whole story to me."

"Sir, it is a minor ritualistic point. By starting *Ai'tikāf* on the morning of the twentieth of Ramadan, instead of on the morning of the twenty-first, any inconsistency between the *Aḥādīth* on the subject would be reconciled."

"But that would be contrary to consensus."

"Sir, what consensus could there be on such a minor question?"

"Well, let us postpone the lesson till tomorrow, and let us go to my house." When they emerged into the courtyard of the Kaaba Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] pointed to the Kaaba and enquired: "Sir, why do people face in the direction of the House when they prostrate themselves in Prayer?"

"Such is the command of the Holy Prophet, peace and blessings of Allah be on him."

"Sir, you are fully conversant with the Jewish Scriptures and know that Jerusalem was the *Qibla* by the consensus of all the Prophets of *Banī Isrā'īl.* Then why have you departed from the consensus of the Prophets because of the command of one Prophet[sa]? If I have differed on the interpretation of one Hadith on a minor point, what harm have I done?"

"My heart misgives me."

"But what about one whose heart does not misgive him?"

"Well, I have interceded on your behalf with your Shaikh and have re-assured him. You may freely resume your lesson with him."[10]

Thereafter Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] completed his study of *Nasa'ī* and *Ibni Mājah*, in addition to *Abū Dā'ūd* with Shaikh Muhammad Khazrajī.

In the meantime Ḥaḍrat Shāh 'Abdul Ghanī Mujaddadī arrived in Mecca from Medina. His advent was widely proclaimed in Mecca and he was enthusiastically welcomed. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] also went to pay him his respects. He was then seated in the courtyard of the Kaaba, surrounded by hosts of admirers. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra], after greeting him, and without any further preliminary, enquired: "Sir, when should *Ai'tikaf* be started?"

He replied without any hesitation: "On the morning of the twentieth."

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was deeply gratified and was much impressed with his greatness and high status. He then ventured: "Sir, I have heard that this would be contrary to consensus."

Shāh Sahib replied in a strange tone: "Ignorance is a very heavy affliction". And he named

several jurists of *Ḥanafī*, *Mālikī*, *Shāfi'ī*, and *Ḥambalī* schools who were of the same view.[11]

Such vast erudition and liberal thinking won the admiration and devotion of Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīnra, and drawing apart he wrote a note requesting Shāh Sahib's permission to accompany him to Medina to study under him. On reading the note Shāh Sahib intimated that he should go to Medina after completing his course of studies in Mecca.

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīnra related all this to Maulawī Raḥmatullāh and submitted: "Such is true learning. Our Shaikh was timid, but Shāh Sahib announced his view in the courtyard of the Kaaba in the presence of thousands and no one took exception to it."

Maulawī Raḥmatullāh's comment was: "Shāh Sahib is a great divine."

On one occasion the mother of one of Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn'sra teachers fell ill and her illness became prolonged. Several physicians were tried, but nothing seemed to help. The teacher then asked Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīnra to go and consult some physician whom he might know. Without disclosing that he himself was a physician, he prepared a medicine which effected a cure within two or three days. The teacher never discovered the identity of the physician.

When he was ready to leave for Medina, Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīnra entrusted a large sum of money and a quantity of baggage to a class-fellow from Bhera who lived in Mecca, and told him to employ the money in his business and that on his return from Medina he would recover the baggage and the money from him, leaving him the profit he might make on the money. In Medina he presented himself to Ḥaḍrat Shāh 'Abdul

Ghanī who allotted him a quarter for his residence. After a few days he offered to swear allegiance to Shāh Sahib as his spiritual preceptor. Shāh Sahib agreed, provided he would remain with him for a minimum period of six months. He directed him to concentrate on the verse of the Holy Quran: "We are closer to man than his jugular vein" (50:17), to which, shortly after, he added the verse: "He is with you wheresoever you may be" (57:5). As a result of such concentration he was frequently honoured with visions of the Holy Prophet[sa] in his dreams, and became aware of the consequences of his spiritual laxity in certain respects. He derived full benefit from his keeping company with Shāh Sahib, who was very circumspect, a man of few words, very far sighted and of vast erudition. He gave lessons in *Bukhārī*, *Tirmidhī*, *Mathnawī* of Maulānā Rum and *Qashiriyyah*. He was most courteous.

On one occasion Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] asked him how he appraised the four schools of Sunni Jurisprudence. His response was: "The most widely known is the school of Abū Ḥanīfah, the most spacious is the school of Mālik, the firmest is the school of Shāfi'ī and the most comprehensive is the school of Ahmad bin Hambal."

The entire Holy Quran was recited daily in his house, and some of his disciples repeated: "There is no God save Allah", nineteen thousand times a day. One of them mentioned to Shāh Sahib: "Nūr-ud-Dīn is not diligent in spiritual exercises. Besides he recites the *Fātiḥah* in such Prayer services also in which the Imam recites it aloud. He also approves of raising of hands at certain points during the course of a Prayer service. To this Shāh Sahib retorted: "Well, then, take a knife and cut out from *Bukhārī* references to the

recital of the *Fātiḥah* when the Imam recites it aloud, and to the raising of hands at certain points during a Prayer service. Also, show him some authority for repeating: 'There is no God save Allah' nineteen thousand times a day, and I am sure he will comply." This silenced the critics.

One Maulawī Nabī Bakhsh Chishtī of Jāmpur lived in the quarter next to that of Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra]. The purpose of his residence in Medina was that he was eager to behold the Holy Prophet[sa] in a state of wakefulness. He held to the view that it was not permissible to offer one *Raka'at* Prayer in *Witar*. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] convinced him to the contrary. Shortly after Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] saw the Holy Prophet[sa] in a dream, who said to him: "You are bidden to eat in my house, but I am very anxious about Nabī Bakhsh." Maulawī Sahib kept on the lookout for Nabī Bakhsh for a long period, but he did not visit his quarter. When he did encounter him at last he enquired from him whether he was in some difficulty, and offered him some money. He confessed that he had passed through a time of great hardship but had just found some work and earned a small amount, which had afforded him relief, so that he was no longer in need.

A Turkish resident of Medina, who owned a large library developed a fondness for Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] and being impressed by his love of the Holy Quran offered to lend him any book that he might wish to read. He asked him for some book that might enlighten him on the question of the abrogation of a certain number of the verses of the Holy Quran. He brought him a book in which it was affirmed that as many as six hundred verses had been abrogated. This left him puzzled. His friend then brought him *Itqān*,

from which he gathered that only nineteen verses had been abrogated. He was much pleased and thought of looking into Shāh Walīullāh's book *Fauzul Kabīr*, which he had bought in Bombay, but had not yet read. He was filled with joy when he discovered that according to Shāh Walīullāh only five verses had been abrogated. This convinced him that the whole question of abrogation was a matter of reflection and understanding. Later he was able to resolve the whole problem and was completely satisfied that not a single verse of the Holy Quran had been abrogated.

In Medina he was distressed to discover a lack of integrity and honesty among public functionaries. A friend of his projected the construction of a commodious travellers' inn for the comfort of visitors to Medina and spent a large sum of money on the project. The Qāḍī asked him for a loan of a hundred pounds. He sought the advice of Shāh 'Abdul Ghanī, who told him the loan would not be returned. He refused to pay the money. The next day he received a notice from the department of the Qāḍī that the inn would obstruct a thoroughfare, which would be a contravention of a direction of the Holy Prophet[sa] and that, therefore, work on the inn should be suspended. This upset his plans and he sought the advice of a friend who suggested he should go to Jiddah and seek the assistance of the British consul. The latter wrote to the Qāḍī, who on receipt of the consul's letter issued another notice to the effect that as enquiries had established that the thoroughfare was no longer used, there was no question of obstruction, and the construction of the inn was permitted!

On one occasion someone came to Shāh Sahib and complained that he had migrated to Medina, but found conditions in Medina deplorable. Shāh Sahib

was much vexed and remarked: "I too have migrated here. If your migration was inspired by the longing to be in the vicinity of the Holy Prophet[sa] that is available to you. But if you came here seeking the company of Abū Bakr[ra], 'Umar[ra], 'Uthmān[ra] and 'Alī[ra], you will not find them here. You had better go and look for them elsewhere."

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] once missed the noon Prayer service and was deeply distressed that he had been guilty of a major sin which would not be forgiven. He entered the mosque in great perturbation by the Gate of Mercy, over which was inscribed the verse: "O My servants who have committeed excesses against your own selves, despair not of the mercy of Allah, surely Allah forgives all sins; He is Most Forgiving, Ever Merciful" (39:54). Even this divine assurance failed to comfort his soul. He started saying his Prayer at a spot between the pulpit and the chamber of the Holy Prophet[sa]. While bowing he recalled that the Holy Prophet[sa] had described the space between the pulpit and his chamber as a part of the Gardens of Paradise. He was thus in Paradise and would be bestowed whatever he were to supplicate for. So he supplicated for the forgiveness of his default.

During his journey from Mecca to Medina he had noticed that often there arose friction between the Bedouin camel drivers and their Indian clients which led to unpleasantness between them. On reflection he felt that two factors contributed principally to this state of affairs. One, lack of adequate means of communication. Pilgrims from India had seldom any knowledge of Arabic, and the Bedouins did not know Hindustani.

Secondly, the Arab custom that everyone is welcomed to a meal. Thus it often happens that food

provided by a passenger for his camel driver is shared by several, with the result that no one eats his fill and all go hungry and become irritable.

The first factor did not operate in the case of Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra]. To safeguard himself against the second, he took the precaution that before leaving Medina on his return journey, he laid in a plentiful supply of dates, and every night, about the middle of the night, he made over a double handful of dates to his camel driver, which kept him well fed and in good humour, so that he served him devotedly, studying his comfort and anticipating his needs.

Approaching Mecca, and recalling that it was mentioned in a Hadith that the Holy Prophet[sa] had entered Mecca by way of Kadā', but finding that loaded camels and donkeys could not proceed that way, he dismounted from his camel a little beyond Dhī Ṭawā and entered Mecca by way of Kadā'. He noticed that only a small number did that.

In Mecca, whenever he wished to perform *'Umra*, he would put on the *Iḥrām* (the pilgrim's garb) in his residence. Noticing this, his host, the venerable Makhdūm, suggested that he should go to Tan'īm and put on the *Iḥrām* there. He explained that it was unnecessary to go six or seven miles out of town, when there was good authority in Hadith that Meccans could put on the *Iḥrām* in Mecca. Makhdūm was upset and said: "You act contrary to the practice of the townsmen and set yourself in opposition to them." He remarked that he did not want to oppose the townsmen; only the donkey drivers whose custom was thereby reduced. This drew a smile from Makhdūm, and he held his peace.

Having performed the Pilgrimage, he went to his class-fellow of Bhera and demanded his baggage and money. He was put off once or twice, but at last yielding to his persistence the man led him to a large house, the door of which was locked, and said: "I have deposited your baggage and money with the owner of this house. I do not know where he has gone." While they were talking an Arab arrived and enquired: "What is the matter?" Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] said: "My baggage is with the owner of this house and it is strange that such a large house is locked." The Arab asked: "Why is this Indian standing here?"

"He is the one who placed my baggage here."

Hearing this the Arab flew into a rage and exclaimed: "This fellow is a liar and a cheat. He has done away with your money and your baggage. The owner of this house is a highly respected citizen. He and the members of his family have gone to Jiddah to see off their friends and will not return till after all pilgrims have departed for their homes."

The Arab spoke courteously and affectionately to Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra], but abused his class-fellow roundly, who remained silent and hung his head in shame. The Arab replied: "This is how it is in Mecca. These Indians have given us a bad name, and do nothing to mend their ways. Sir, this fellow has given away all your money and baggage to a Bengali woman. These people are given to that kind of thing. You will not get any of your things back."

Later, when Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn's[ra] teacher, whose fellow pupils both of them had been, was about to set out on Pilgrimage, he warned him to look after everything himself and not to put his trust in anyone. On return from Pilgrimage he expressed his gratitude

to Maulawī Sahib for his advice which had safeguarded him against the depredations of his ex-pupil.

Makhdūm Sahib was of advanced age. His wife was much younger and was very beautiful. One day Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] said to her: "I wish to ask you two questions. The first is: Are you fully conscious of your great beauty?"

"Indeed I am. I am so conscious of it that in the whole of Mecca I am the only woman who does not use any make-up whatever."

"My second question is: I have observed that you work very hard to make Makhdūm Sahib comfortable. He is very old and you are very young. Your utter devotion to him surprises me."

"Were he not old, I would not work so hard. God having bestowed him on me as my husband, it is my duty to behave most handsomely towards him and provide him with every comfort."

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was convinced that the young woman had achieved the climax of virtue and beneficence. He enquired from Makhdūm Sahib: "Are you completely satisfied with your wife? He answered: "I can vouch for her truthfulness. She is most mindful of my comfort, and fully justifies her name Ṣaddīqa (the righteous one)."[12]

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] arrived in Bombay with a heavy load of books. He registered the boxes containing them for Lahore, freight to be paid on taking delivery. He stopped in Delhi where he was told that his teacher of medicine was also in Delhi. He went to pay his respects to him and was asked: "What have you brought from the Ḥijāz? "He mentioned some

of the books he had collected. His teacher said: "Make them over to me."

"Sir, I shall be happy to do so. They have been booked to Lahore. On arriving in Lahore I shall send them to you."

"I want to see Lahore. Let us go there together this very day."

He was willing and accompanied him to Lahore and showed him round. The books were mentioned, and the gracious teacher had the boxes taken delivery of on payment of freight from Bombay, and made them over to his ex-pupil, explaining: "I have so arranged, so that I, too, may have a share in providing them for you."[13]

In fact Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] did not, at the time, have the money to pay the freight. When he had seen his teacher off, a Hindu of Bhera, who owned a certain number of units of road transportation, offered to transport all his baggage to Bhera, saying that he would recover the freight from him in Bhera.

PHYSICIAN AT BHERA

On arrival at Bhera Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was welcomed by a large gathering of Muslims and Hindus of the town. He soon discovered that the prevailing atmosphere was one of fanaticism, intrigue and distrust. Among the Muslims there was a strong tendency towards emphasising minor points of ceremonial and ritual and an entire absence of eagerness to foster high moral qualities and promote spiritual values. He was repeatedly drawn into futile discussions of theological abstractions, and his sensible liberal views gave mortal offence. He was warned that unless he descended to the common, popular level in these matters, life would be made difficult for him. He was often manoeuvered into situations of extreme peril, from which he managed to extricate himself by the exercise of his God-given acumen, tact, courage and presence of mind. Many still had recourse to him for theological studies, and he gave them freely of his best, but controversy and intrigue continued to hold sway.

At last he decided to start the practice of medicine. He sought the advice of a physician who was already well established and he counselled caution: "I charge fees, and yet can just eke out a modest livelihood. I know you will not demand fees, and voluntary offerings may be insignificant. Besides you are likely to prescribe simple, inexpensive remedies, and your methods will not commend you to surgeons and druggists. The divines are not friendly

towards you. Thus altogether the prospect is not encouraging."

He had married shortly before and felt that it was time he settled down to a career. His experience so far, though limited and haphazard, had proved his competence. His diagnosis and even his improvisations had justified themselves. He was fortified by a strong faith and perfect reliance upon God. His father also encouraged him and suggested he should establish his clinic in a large, spacious house which he placed at his disposal. His simple methods soon began to attract patients. Throughout his life he never demanded a fee and was more than content with whatever God provided. He did not discriminate between his patients. Everyone of them received his full attention. The poor and indigent were the objects of his special care. Where needed, he provided them financial assistance.

His father died, and a short while after his elder brother told him that the house in which he held his clinic had been purchased and put in order with money provided by him, and that for some reason it was needful that he should furnish him with a written declaration to that effect. He complied readily and cheerfully, and to make assurance doubly sure he directed his apprentices to remove his paraphernalia to the chamber attached to a certain mosque, which they promptly did. When his mother learnt of this, she told him that his brother had not meant him to move, and tried to explain the background, but he had already moved.

Discovering a desirable plot of ground, which belonged to the municipality of Bhera, he asked a builder to put up a suitable structure on it, and requested a Hindu acquaintance to furnish the money

needed for the structure. The work commenced; whereupon the Tahsildar sent him a message that no building could be erected on ground belonging to the municipality, and without a plan having been approved. He added that out of respect for Ḥakīm Sahib he would not protest, nor, out of the same consideration, would the members of the Municipal Committee, but the matter had been reported to the Deputy Commissioner who, as Chairman of the Committee, was sure to direct the demolition of the structure. The builder had the same apprehension, but was told to carry on the work. On the report submitted to him the Deputy Commissioner intimated that he would soon find an opportunity of visiting the spot and appraising the situation.

The Deputy Commissioner came and directed that further work may be suspended pending his final decision. By the time Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] came up to see the Deputy Commissioner, he had left the spot, but turned back on being apprised of his coming and enquired: "Do you know that this site is public domain?"

"Yes, I know; but the whole town is public domain."

"How so?"

"If Government should decide to establish a cantonment in any part of the town, could any one obstruct it?"

"Of course, not."

"Thus the whole town can become public domain."

Without any further comment the Deputy Commissioner enquired: "How much of this site do you require for the purpose you have in mind?"

"This site is between a highway and a thoroughfare. I would need the whole of it."

The Deputy Commissioner turned to the Tahsildar and the members of the Municipal Committee and asked them: "Have you any objection?"

They said: "The proposed building will be used for the benefit of the public. We have no objection."

The Deputy Commissioner directed that the required area be marked off with pegs driven into the ground, which was done. He then departed.

The Tahsildar remarked to Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn: The Deputy Commissioner has no authority to dispose of public property in this summary manner.

The Deputy Commissioner, who had proceeded some distance, came back and said to Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn: "I have noticed that there is an open sewage drain running along the thoroughfare, it will be a nuisance for you."

"You are a wise man. Perhaps you can suggest something."

"I consider that the municipality should put up a buttress against the wall of your building on that side;" and turning to the municipal commissioners asked them: "Have you any objection?"

They had none. He said to Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn: "Then that is settled. You can proceed with your building."

After he left, a municipal commissioner murmured: This is a strange proceeding. Not only has the municipal committee been deprived of a valuable

plot of land, it has, in addition, been mulcted a thousand rupees for putting up the buttress."

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] remarked: "These are matters above your comprehension."[14]

The cost of the construction came to twelve hundred rupees and he was considering how to repay it, when his friend, Malik Fatiḥ Khān, came up one day and told him he was on his way to Rawalpindi to attend a Provincial Durbar, and that a Viceregal Durbar was being held in Delhi at the same time. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] indicated that he desired to accompany him, and was invited to ride along with him. He mounted the pony just as he was, leaving his patients and without informing his wife. In Jhelum Malik Fatiḥ Khān took the train for Rawalpindi and Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] decided to go to Delhi. He needed a change of clothes and borrowed a coat, turban and shalwar from Malik Ḥakīm Khān, Tahsildar. He then sauntered to the railway station to take the train to Lahore. He found that the third class fare from Jhelum to Lahore was fifteen annas, and on putting his hand in the pocket of his borrowed coat discovered the exact amount in it. This took him to Lahore where the station was crowded with passengers intending to travel to Delhi for the Durbar. He had no money, and even if he had had it, the crowd made it difficult to approach the booking office window. Presently he was accosted by the Rev. Gaulak Nāth, who knew him, and who, on discovering that he intended to travel to Delhi, went and brought him a ticket. Noticing him putting his hand into his pocket, the reverened gentleman protested that he would not accept payment for the ticket.

He arrived in Delhi in the afternoon and curiosity led him out of town in the direction of the

camp of Ruling Chiefs. After he had walked for some miles he noticed that the sun was about to set and was thinking of returning to town, when a retainer of Munshi Jamāluddīn Sahib of Bhopal came running up to him and told him that Munshi Sahib had noticed him walking along and had sent him to fetch him. He said it was getting late and he would be glad to call on Munshi Sahib in the morning; but the man was insistent and suggested that as Munshi Sahib's camp was quite close he should make his excuse personally. Munshi Sahib received him with his customary graciousness and said: "My daughter's son Muhammad 'Umar is ill. I would wish you to examine him." He suggested he would come and examine the patient in the morning. Munshi Sahib insisted he should stay the night, and had a tent put up for him in which he spent a comfortable night. As the next day was Friday, Munshi Sahib had a suit of clothes prepared for him during the night.

The following day after the Friday Prayer service, Munshi Sahib offered to drive with him to his lodging to collect his baggage and enquired its address. He pointed to a narrow lane into which a carriage could not drive. Munshi Sahib sent two of his retainers with him to fetch the baggage. Accompanied by them he plunged into the lane and kept walking purposefully till he noticed a building, into and out of which people were entering and emerging freely. He too entered it, and finding that most people made for the first floor he asked his two companions to wait below and himself walked upstairs. He had not the slightest notion where he was; only he felt propelled by an inner impulse which he obeyed. Among the large company upstairs he distinguished Maulawī 'Ubaidullāh, author of *Tuḥfatul Hind*, who seemed delighted to see him and said: "Your coming is very

opportune. I have with me a number of young men, recent converts to Islam, and am anxious to find suitable accommodation for them. Could you take them and look after them?" He signified he would be glad to do so. Their baggage was taken charge of by Munshi Sahib's retainers, and they all accompanied Munshi Sahib to his camp.

Having examined Muhammad 'Umar, Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīnra diagnosed tumor which would require prolonged treatment. Munshi Sahib urged him to accompany him to Bhopal, but he said he had left home suddenly and could not remain away for long. Munshi Sahib gave him five hundred rupees to send home and insisted that he should go to Bhopal with him. He sent the money to his Hindu creditor and wrote to his wife not to worry about him. A few days later Munshi Sahib gave him seven hundred rupees more, which he also remitted to his creditor and having been relieved of all anxiety on that score he went cheerfully to Bhopal with Munshi Sahib.

In Bhopal also he had to face jealousy and intrigue, and at a time of great peril he was given effective help by Pīr 'Alī Ahmad Mujaddadī, from whom he had received many kindnesses at the time of his earlier stay in Bhopal. At last Muhammad 'Umar was restored to health and his physician returned to Bhera.

His practice began to pick up and his skill and competence were recognised. This also aroused professional jealousy. A very wealthy patient of his had an attack of typhoid fever. He treated him with the utmost care, and watching the course of the fever he surmised on the seventh day that the crisis was imminent. The symptoms of crisis appeared the same evening, and the physician felt hopeful. The family of

the patient becoming anxious called in a more experienced physician from Pind Dādan Khān, who arrived late at night and immediately sizing up the situation announced that there was nothing much the matter with the patient, that he had just the right remedy for him, and administered a powder to him with a simple mixture, smiling contemptuously at Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra]. The patient rallied the next day, the credit of the outside physician shot up and Nūr-ud-Dīn was humiliated in the eyes of the family who cheerfully paid the outsider the heavy fee demanded by him.

Malik Fatiḥ Khān, the octogenarian friend of Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] who was very fond of him and from whom he had received many favours, was childless. He urged him to marry, but he demurred on the ground that he was past the age of marriage. Nūr-ud-Dīn encouraged him, and also prepared for him a compound of arsenic, mercury and opium which had the desired effect, and he married according to the advice of his friend. Within a year the couple were blessed with a baby daughter and a year later they were bestowed a son. Nūr-ud-Dīn hoped for a liberal largesse, and though the happy father was most grateful to him and their friendship was further cemented, his expectation was not realised. These incidents confirmed his belief that God alone was the source of all beneficence, and that one's hopes should never be fixed upon mortals. He was convinced that God, of His grace, would henceforth provide for him, and he became determined that he would, in future, not even entertain the idea of providing anyone with advice or medicine in return for money. This opened the gates of prosperity for him.

In those days he was eager to read Ibn Khaladūn's book on History. A bookseller offered it to him for seventy rupees. He told him he could not pay him the total amount in cash, but would pay him by instalments. The bookseller did not agree. The same afternoon when he came to his clinic he found the book on his desk. His enquiries could not elicit how the book had found its way to him. One day a patient told him that he had noticed that a Sikh had put it on his desk. He said he did not know his name, but could identify him. Some days later he brought the Sikh to him, who explained that, having heard of the incident with the bookseller, he had immediately purchased the book from him and had placed it on his desk. He added that he was reimbursed by his employer who had given him instructions to provide, at his expense, whatever Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] might need. By then he could afford seventy rupees and sent the amount to his benefactor, who felt affronted and complained to Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn's[ra] elder brother, who agreed to accept the money and reprove him.

About that time he was called to treat an unusual case of paralysis for which he could recall no precedent. He called in aid general principles and improvised a course of treatment under which the patient began to improve, and eventually recovered completely. This extraordinary cure was much talked of and greatly boosted his practice.

He came to know of a widow whose circumstances were such that he felt she would prove a good match for him. He approached her with the proposal and she signified her own willingness, but was apprehensive that, as remarriage of widows was not generally looked upon with favour, her guardian would not approve of it for her and would withhold his

consent. She suggested, however, that the formal ceremony might be performed which might persuade the guardian to give his consent. He considered that opposition to a widow's re-marriage betrayed an un-Islamic attitude and could be disregarded. So the formal ceremony took place, pending a favourable change in the attitude of the guardian.

In that situation Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīnra saw the Holy Prophetsa in a dream and observed that he was clean shaven and looked pale. He interpreted this as an indication that the formal ceremony was contrary to the practice of the Holy Prophetsa. But to make sure, he wrote to Mīyāń Nadhīr Ḥusain of Delhi and Maulawī Muhammad Ḥusain of Batāla, setting out the facts and seeking their advice. He heard from only one of them in reply to the effect that in such case a widow could disregard her guardian and marry without his consent, and added that, in any case, the Hadith: A woman cannot marry without the consent of her guardian; was of doubtful authority. This was in accord with his wishes and he made preparations to bring his bride home. He set out with this design and at the gate of his house encountered someone who held a compilation of Hadith in his hand and asked him to expound the meaning of the Hadith: That which troubles the mind is sinful, even though it is pronounced lawful by the jurists. He was stunned, and put off the enquirer. He was convinced that God had chosen this method of warning him not to attach any weight to the opinion of the jurists. He closed the gate and retreated to his room pondering the situation, reflecting that the Hadith was of doubtful authority and was not supported by the jurists. He felt sleepy, lay down and fell into a slumber. He again saw the Holy Prophetsa who appeared about twenty-five years of age, his beard cropped on the left side and

thick and full on the right. The thought crossed his mind: How handsome would he look if his beard matched. He felt that the condition of the Holy Prophet's[sa] beard was a reflection of his doubt about the authority of the Hadith; and he instantly made a mental affirmation that even if everyone else were doubtful about it he would accept it as genuine. Simultaneously the Holy Prophet's[sa] beard matched on both sides, and he laughed and asked: "Would you like to see Kashmir?" He answered: "Indeed, Messenger of Allah;" and they set out for Kashmir, by way of Bānīhāl. This was an indication that he would leave Bhera and go to Kashmir.

It so happened that Lāla Matthrā Dās, a neighbour of his in Bhera, who was a police officer in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, began to suffer from tuberculosis and came to him for treatment. He recovered soon. About the same time Dīwān Kirpā Rām, Prime Minister of the State, passing through Pind Dādan Khān, learnt of the high reputation of Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] and mentioned it to the Maharaja of Kashmir. It was thus that he was appointed Deputy Physician to the Maharaja.

VI

MAHARAJA’S PHYSICIAN

The Maharaja’s Chief Physician was Ḥakīm Fidā Muhammad Khān, who retired shortly after and Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was promoted Chief Physician in his place. In that capacity he was also put in charge of all hospitals in the State. He was then thirty six years of age and held the office of Chief Physician for fifteen years.

His early experiences in the State were not very encouraging. The atmosphere was pervaded with intrigue and he felt that he would have to step warily. Two high officers took no pains to conceal their hostility towards him.

For his accommodation he rented a modest flat which was conveniently situated and which belonged to the State. He was warned that the Estate Officer, a person of advanced age, was not very reliable and that he should obtain a registered deed of lease from him. Following this advice he procured a registered deed of lease of the premises for one year and moved in. Within a few days the Estate Officer called on him and asked him to vacate the premises as someone had offered to pay double the amount of rent for them. He was reminded of the registered deed of lease, which he waived aside airily as irrelevant, and insisted on the premises being vacated. Thus perforce the holder of the ineffective registered deed of lease agreed to pay double the amount of rent specified in the deed. But that was not the end of the matter. Soon the Estate Officer returned and demanded vacation of the

premises alleging that a third person had offered to pay four times the amount of rent mentioned in the deed. The tenant thus harassed submitted to the extortion and signified his willingness to pay the enhanced amount. But this only whetted the appetite of the Estate Officer and he returned only a day or two later with the tale that he had been offered twelve times the amount of rent. The tenant was disgusted and made up his mind to depart from a place where honesty and fair-dealing were under such heavy discount. He told his servant to pack up for departure and take everything down from the flat.

When his belongings had been piled up in the street, a leading citizen of the town, Shaikh Fatiḥ Muhammad, happening to pass by, enquired from the servant whose belongings they were. Just then the owner had come down and explained that he was departing the town.

"But you have been here only a short while; why are you departing so soon?"

"Because I have no wish to live in a place where honesty is held of no account."

Shaikh Fatiḥ Muhammad guessed what had happened and said: "The Estate Officer is reputed for his chicanery. I beg you to come and stay with me."

"I am much obliged, but I have no mind to stay here."

"Oh, no, no. I will not accept your refusal."

He directed his retainers to carry the physician's belongings to his house, upon which his intended beneficiary made another effort to dissuade him, pointing out that his hospitable design was bound to involve him in trouble as two high officers of

the State were bitterly hostile to him and he might incur their ill-will on account of his hospitality to him. This was waived aside as of no account and the Maharaja's Physician took up his residence with Shaikh Fatiḥ Muhammad. He stayed with him for ten years. He was throughout made most comfortable, and not only the host but all the members of his family vied with each other in studying his convenience and anticipating his every wish. Neither he nor his students, who had recourse to him, lacked anything at any time. Rare indeed is such large-heartedness. The host was truly worthy of his guest. If there were in the town such specimens of perfidy as the Estate Officer, there were also Shaikh Fatiḥ Muhammad and the members of his household.[15]

His skilful treatment of a couple of cases soon won him high repute as a physician. A daughter of Mīyāń Lāl Dīn, a wealthy and respected citizen of Jammu, fell ill of dysentery and despite every effort of the physicians whom the father called in her condition continued to deteriorate. The father disapproved of some religious views of Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīnra and was reluctant to have recourse to him. But when his daughter's illness began to cause anxiety he begged him to come over and undertake her treatment. He called in aid his knowledge of allopathy and prescribed accordingly. The patient immediately responded favourably to the treatment and recovered completely within two or three days. The grateful father presented a robe of honour and a *Yārqandī* pony complete with riding harness to the physician.

An officer of the Octroi Department sent for him in the middle of the night. He was in agony from severe colic. The physician gave him a compound which brought him instant relief.

Cholera broke out in epidemic form in the State. The Maharaja moved to Bāhū Fort for a change of climate. Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] had to attend upon him. A close relative of the Maharaja, Rajah Mutī Singh, who was also of the company, began to suffer from severe dysentery and was treated successfully by the royal physician, with whom his relations became friendly. He presented a large sum of money to him, and continued to repeat the gift for several years. The Maharaja's relations with Rajah Mutī Singh were not too cordial. The wedding of one of the princes was approaching and Rajah Mutī Singh consulted with Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra], whether he should attend. He advised he should as that might help restore friendly relations between him and the Maharaja. The wedding was to be a grand affair. Rajah Mutī Singh's intimation that he would attend pleased the Maharaja and a reconciliation was effected.

The two way journey for the wedding was to be a royal progress and was expected to occupy a whole month. Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was to travel by elephant, the howdah of which could easily accommodate two persons. But a spring that was not properly secured chafed him and he traversed the first stage of the journey in discomfort. During the second stage he suffered so acutely that he felt he would not be able to continue the journey next day. It was already late at night, and fearing that he had developed an abscess, he summoned a surgeon who was also of the party, and requested him to open the abscess and clean it out. The surgeon demurred on the ground that he had packed up his instruments for the night and could operate only in the morning. However, on the patient's insistence he cut out the abscess with a pen knife very roughly and cleaned out the puss. Next morning the edges of the wound appeared to have joined up, so

that it was beginning to heal. The patient felt he could ride a horse, if he took care not to press heavily on the injured spot; but he had ridden only a few miles when the pain from the wound became unbearable. He dismounted and began to wait for someone who might prove of assistance to him. Presently the crown prince arrived on his horse, greeted him and asked why had he stopped. He explained that he was not feeling well and was not able to ride. The crown prince expressed his sympathy, and saying that he should try to make for the next stage, which was only two or three miles distant, where everything would be arranged, he cantered off. This performance was repeated with two more princes, one of them a close friend of the distressed traveller, and with Rajah Mutī Singh who expressed his concern and solicitude in affectionate terms. Finally, the Superintendent of the camp passed and the same dialogue was exchanged. Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] felt that that was the end of human resources, and that it had been a mistake to rely on them. Help could come only from God.

He did not have long to wait. Dīwān Lachhman Dās, who at that time held a military command, came riding up, and seeing him, dismounted immediately and enquired: "What is the trouble?" He replied: "I have a boil which prevents me riding. But you may carry on."

"How can I leave you thus stranded?"[16]

He sat down with him and they passed some time in conversation. Then his palanquin approached, and he went over to see his men and gave them their instructions and rode away. The bearers brought up the palanquin to Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] and asked him to get into it, saying that it would remain at his disposal till his return to Jammu. He found the

palanquin well equipped, and lay down comfortably in it, and rendering his thanks to God, for His grace and mercy, began to read the Holy Quran. His injury healed quickly, and he tried to dispence with the palanquin, but the men repeated that their instructions were to remain with him till the return of the whole party to Jammu.

During the month-long journey he committed nearly half of the Holy Quran to memory, and having once commenced the enterprise he continued diligently with it till he had the whole of it by heart. Thus Maulawī, Ḥakīm, Haji Nūr-ud-Dīn also became Ḥāfiẓ.

When he returned to Jammu from the wedding journey, he thanked the palanquin bearers for their care of him and sought to give them an adequate tip; but they refused to accept anything explaining that Dīwān Sahib had furnished them with enough money to cover all expenses and rewards and had directed them not to accept anything from him. He tried to persuade them with the assurance that Dīwān Sahib need not know, but they produced a sum of money and placing it before him said: "Of the amount that Dīwān Sahib provided us with, this much has not been spent. We beg you to accept it as we dare not try to return it to him." He was deeply impressed with their sense of duty, their loyalty to their master and their integrity. Thereafter he received numerous favours from Dīwān Lachhman Dās.

Some time later Dīwān Lachhman Dās was appointed Prime Minister of the State. He was very fond of Pushtu, and all his retainers were Pushtu speaking Pathans. He issued directions that no one should call on him at his residence. If any one came to call on him the *Pushtūns* sent him back

unceremoniously. One evening Shaikh Fatiḥ Muhammad happened to mention that he had some business with the Prime Minister. His guest urged him to go and call on the Prime Minister immediately. He said he dared not, on account of the *Pushtūn* retainers on duty at his residence. Thereupon Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] said he would write to the Prime Minister at once. His host tried to dissuade him, but he took up pen and paper and wrote to the following effect:

> "I have heard that you have posted a strong guard of *Pushtūns* at your residence to turn away all callers. The people of the State are accustomed to call on high dignitaties of the State at their residences. Kindly set aside a large room furnished with an Iranian carpet for the convenience of your visitors. You can receive them at your convenience, or refuse to see any you do not wish to see. But it is not compatible with your dignity that your visitors should be turned away unceremoniously by your *Pushtūn* guards."[17]

The letter was despatched immediately. A short while after Dīwān Sahib's Private Secretary came with a lantern and told Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] that he had been sent by Dīwān Sahib to fetch him. Shaikh Fatiḥ Muhammad apprehending danger from such a prompt and peremptory summons advised that he should not go at that late hour; but he went. He found no guard outside. Dīwān Sahib received him graciously, and said: "You will have noticed that there is no guard outside. I have dismissed them. Such and such a room has been furnished with an Iranian carpet and has been set aside for visitors."

His visitor thanked him for such prompt compliance with his suggestion, to which he replied:

"In a State there is need for people like you who speak out plainly. I esteem you very highly. Henceforth no one will be turned away. As for you there is no restriction. You may come freely whenever you may wish."

His activities in the State were not confined to the field of medicine. He was a devoted servant of Islam and took advantage of every opportunity of clearing up misunderstandings about Islam current among the ministers and other high dignitaries of the State. On one occasion the Governor of Jammu, Pandit Rādha Krishan, told him that some of the criticisms of Islam set forth by Pandit Laikh Rām were irrefutable. He asked the Governor to cite what he considered was the strongest of those criticisms. The Governor mentioned that the famous Library of Alexandria was burnt under the directions of Ḥaḍrat 'Umar[ra], the Second Successor to the Holy Prophet[sa] of Islam. Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] asked him to name the most reliable history of the early period of Islam. The Governor named *Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. The book was sent for and the Governor's attention was drawn to the author's account of the destruction of the Library of Alexandria, which showed that Ḥaḍrat 'Umar[ra] had nothing whatever to do with it. The Governor was embarrassed and observed: "As we are brought up in an atmosphere charged with hostility towards Islam we are ever ready to credit everything that is critical of Islam."

He also had the opportunity of giving lessons in the Holy Quran to the special personal attendants of the Maharaja which they appreciated deeply. Rajah Amar Singh, brother of the Maharaja, learnt the Holy Quran from him and held him in high esteem. The

Maharaja himself learnt the translation of nearly half of the Holy Quran from him.

He had achieved high reputation in his profession and some of the cures effected by him were truly wonderful, but he never took credit for them. He was conscious every moment that nothing could be achieved except through the grace and mercy of God, and that a mere creature of God must be most circumspect lest by thought or word or deed he should arouse God's jealousy and draw His wrath upon himself.

In his treatment he did not confine himself to what was generally known as the *Yūnānī* system of medicine. He procured several books on the allopathic system in Arabic from Egypt and made a careful study of them. He took lessons in the Hindi system from an aged Hindi physician, Pandit Harnām Dās, and studied *Amrit Sāgar*, and *Sasrat* with him. He held his venerable teacher in high esteem, served him in diverse ways and paid deference to him, though he held only a minor office at court. Someone mentioned to the Maharaja that Nūr-ud-Dīn could not be accounted much of a physician as he still took lessons from so insignificant a person as Pandit Harnām Dās. One day the Maharaja enquired from him: "Why do you pay so much deference to Pandit Harnām Dās?" He replied: "I revere him as my teacher." The Maharaja was deeply impressed, and he rose still further in his estimation.

He was very fond of Firuz-ud-dīn, son of Mīyāń Lā'l Dīn, on account of his excellent qualities, and the young man was devoted to him. He was afflicted with small pox. His revered friend called in aid all his resources in his treatment of him, but nothing availed, and the patient succumbed to the disorder in the

presence of his eminent physician, who was sorely distressed at the tragedy and realised once more that everything depended on the grace and mercy of God.

A son of his sister died in Bhera of dysentery. He happened to arrive in Bhera from Jammu shortly after, and his sister, observing that another person who was suffering from dysentery had recovered under his treatment, said to him: "If you had been here when my son was ill, he would not have died." He was shocked, and admonished her: "You will have another son who will fall ill of dysentery, and despite my treatment of him will die of it." In due course she gave birth to a lovely boy who fell ill of dysentery. Her brother was in Bhera and occupied himself with treatment of his little nephew. His sister recalled his admonition, and begged him to pray for the child's recovery. He did so and told her that the child would die, but that she would be blessed with another son who would grow up and flourish; and so it happened.

The Maharaja was very appreciative of Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn's[ra] talent and high moral and spiritual qualities, and often gave expression to his regard for him. One evening he received an urgent summons to attend upon the Maharaja. As he was about to set out, the wife of a sweeper came up to him in great agitation and begged him to go and examine her husband who was in agony. He told the Maharaja's emissary to go and assure the Maharaja that he would wait upon him in a short while. The emissary was much chagrined and exclaimed: "A sweeper to have precedence over the Maharaja!" The physician had no doubt the emissary would carry the tale of what he considered an enormity to the Maharaja, but his humanity would not permit him to ignore the suffering of the humble sweeper. He diagnosed his trouble as severe

congestion of the bowels and administered an enema which gave him instant relief. He breathed a deep sigh and gave expression to his gratitude in the words: "May God bless thee abundantly, and also him who has made thee available to us here." This was said so fervently that the physician was convinced that the Maharaja, who was included in the benediction, must also have been relieved of his trouble, whatever it might have been.

When he arrived at the palace he found that such was indeed the case, and that the Maharaja was in no need of his ministrations. He was asked what had delayed him. He told the Maharaja what had happened and also that he was sure the humble sweeper's benediction had removed the cause of his trouble. The Maharaja commended his conduct as worthy of a true physician and presented him two heavy gold bangles. Before leaving the palace he called the emissary and gave him one of the bangles. He was greatly surprised and wanted to know what had prompted the largesse. The reply was: "Had you not complained against me to the Maharaja, I would not have been bestowed the bangles; so you are entitled to share in the bounty."

At one time the Maharaja ordained that all high officials should wear a formal dress the cost of which should not be less than a month's salary. Every one complied, but the Chief Physician made no change in his simple unostentatious dress. Someone mentioned this to the Maharaja who observed: "He is right. A formal dress would be a handicap in the performance of his duties. Besides he has often to go inside the palace among the ladies, and a simple dress is most fitting for such a person."

On the occasion of a public audience, every high official was required to do homage by presenting a silver coin which the Maharaja touched with his two fingers in token of acceptance. The Chief Physician felt embarrassed at having to do homage, but could think of no way of getting out of it. When his turn was approaching the Maharaja observed that he was contemplating the coin that he held in the palm of his hand. When he drew near the Maharaja enquired: "Are you thinking of the homage or of the coin?" He replied: "Sir, I am thinking of the coin which is the token of my doing homage."

The Maharaja smiled and said: "You are under no obligation to do homage. You are exempt."

Someone conveyed to the Maharaja that Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was the descendant of one (Ḥaḍrat 'Umar[ra]) who had usurped the succession of the Holy Prophet[sa]. One day the Maharaja asked him: "Why was not the Holy Prophet[sa] succeeded by his own issue?" He pointed out that the succession to the Holy Prophet[sa] was not a secular matter, and also that he had left no male issue, and the sons of his daughter were both minors; whereupon the Maharaja affirmed: "But Maulā Murtaḍā ('Alī[ra]) was his son, and Ḥaḍrat 'Umar[ra] usurped the succession."

He rejoined: "'Alī[ra] was not his son, only his son-in-law; and Ḥaḍrat 'Umar[ra] did not succeed him immediately, he was his second Successor."

"Then was not Ḥaḍrat 'Alī[ra] his son?"

"No, he was his son-in-law, as that Rajah (pointing to him) is your son-in-law."[18]

"Oh, I see the whole point now. We do not marry our daughters to anyone, nor do we appoint anyone as

minister who might have pretentions to the succession. The family of this son-in-law of ours opposed the British during the Mutiny of 1857, and they were deported to the Andaman Islands. We helped the British and in recognition of our loyal help the British proposed to bestow more territory upon us. But we declined the offer of territory and instead secured the return of this Rajah and his father from Port Blair, restored their estates to them and married our daughter to this Rajah. Now if they should make the least move against us, there is still Port Blair. As for the Prime Minister, if I were to dismiss him tomorrow, he would be reduced to earning his livelihood by running a grocery shop."

At one time Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] felt a strong urge to study *Ṭabaqātul Anwār*, a commentary on the Hadith: "He who has me as his friend, should have 'Alī as his friend;" spread over more than seven hundred pages, by Mīr Ḥāmid Ḥusain. He heard that Mīr Nawab of Lucknow, a Shia, who was also a physician in Jammu, possessed a copy. He asked him to lend it to him. The loan was made on condition that the book could be taken away at 10 p.m. and must be returned six hours later at 4 a.m. Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] studied the tome during the night, made notes and sent it back by the stipulated hour. He later studied the notes and reflected over them; though he had no notion why he had undertaken all that laborious research.

A few days thereafter he was told by Shaikh Fatiḥ Muhammad that they were to dine that evening with Mīyāń Ilāhi Bakhsh, a leading citizen. When they were proceeding to the residence of the host Shaikh Fatiḥ Muhammad disclosed to him that their host of the evening was a zealous Shia who had invited a

Mujtahid to debate Shia doctrines with him, on condition that if he was not able to refute the *Mujtahid*, all the Sunnīs present would subscribe to Shia doctrines. Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] had not been forewarned, as it was considered that an extemporaneous performance would be of much greater interest. He rebuked Shaikh Fatiḥ Muhammad over the frivolous condition that had been agreed to, but the latter made light of his protest.

On arrival at the house of Mīyāń Ilāhī Bakhsh, Shaikh Fatiḥ Muhammad, in his usual forthright manner, demanded that the Shia contestant should come forward. Instead a book was handed to Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra], who was agreeably surprised to discover that it was *Ṭabaqātul Anwār*. He leafed through it quickly and then placed it before Mīyāń Ilāhī Bakhsh and enquired what was proposed. He was told he should make a thorough study of the book. He said he had studied it, and if they wished he could set forth its purport briefly and also refute it. Several Shia divines were present and they all desired to hear his exposition, on listening to which they went apart and agreed among themselves that they would be no match for him in a debate. Mīyāń Ilāhī Bakhsh directed his servants to serve dinner, but Shaikh Fatiḥ Muhammad kept shouting: "We do not want dinner, we want to hear the debate; produce your *Mujtahid*. But no one came forward and no debate took place."

As has been mentioned, Mīyāń Lā'l Dīn was a very wealthy and highly respected citizen of Jammu, though he did not have much education. He was not on very friendly terms with Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra]. Nevertheless, the latter one day took the unusual step of calling on him at his residence. He found him seated in a high seat beside a window in a large room

which was full of people who had business with him. He heard each in turn and then dictated his directions to a clerk. Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] waited patiently till everyone had been attended to and had departed. The clerk thinking that he may have waited to speak to his master in private also withdrew. Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] then said to Mīyāń Lā'l Dīn: "You occupy so high a position that an average divine dare not admonish you. Yet everyone needs an admonisher. I have come to enquire who your admonisher is."

He replied: "Maulawī Sahib, you know I have no learning, and am unable to appreciate delicate hints."

"Well then, to put it plainly, in the vicinity of every town are to be found the ruins of an older town, and somewhere near a wealthy person's home is the impoverished home of one who was once wealthy, which can serve as his admonisher."

"Now that you mention it, please lean over and look through this window. There you see an arched doorway. It can serve as my admonisher. I sit beside this window so that I may have it within sight. The owner of that house was very wealthy and of such high status that he had been conferred the privilege of having a red umbrella cover in the presence of the Maharaja, while such as I was not permitted even a black umbrella. Now he is so impoverished that his wife helps wash dishes in our kitchen."

"Indeed, you need no other admonisher."

Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] related this incident to the Maharaja, who observed: "I have several admonishers. The place where the religious ceremony of anointing a Maharaja is performed is surrounded by the humble dwellings of persons who are descended from previous rulers of the land. They are under no obligation to pay

homage to us. There was a famous town, Dhāranagar, in front of the spot where I hold court. It is now in ruins. Then Bāhū Fort was at one time the seat of powerful rulers. I can have no better admonishers. Indeed those from whom we took over also serve us as good admonishers."

VII

SEEKER AND SOUGHT

Maulawī Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīnra had by this time acquired great repute as an outstanding physician, a learned divine, a discerning mystic and an exemplary believer. He had for long been seeking for a perfect spititual guide and spiritual preceptor. He had been privileged to meet personages who possessed great learning and led pious and righteous lives, who were wise and beneficent, but who were not too much concerned with the defence of Islam and establishing its superiority over other faiths. He prayed earnestly for the appearance of such a champion of Islam. Later he described this phase of his life in a brochure drawn up in Arabic of which the following is a rendering in English:

> "In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Ever Merciful. All praise is due to Allah, Lord of the worlds, Most Gracious, Ever Merciful, Master of the Day of Judgment. Blessings and peace be on the Chief of mankind, Chief of divine Messengers and Prophetsas, chosen of the chosen ones, Muhammadsa, Seal of the Prophets, and on his people and companions, all of them. This weak and indigent servant of the Mighty and Trustworthy God, Nūr-ud-Dīn (may God safeguard him against all afflictions and include him among His servants whom He has granted security and make him truly the light of the faith, as is the connotation of his name) submits as follows. Ever since I have

become aware of the evils in which my contemporaries are involved, and have observed the changes that have occurred in religion and among religious people, I have been eager, and have been praying, that God, the Exalted, may lead me to a person who should revive the faith of Islam and should subject its enemies and the wicked to spiritual bombardment. I was firmly hopeful of the fulfilment of this earnest desire of mine, because Allah, the Exalted, Who is the Most Truthful of all speakers, had given the glad tidings to the believers in His Open Book: Allah has promised those among you who believe and act righteously that He will surely make them Successors in the earth, as He made Successors those who were before them: and that He will surely establish for them their religion which He has chosen for them: and that after their state of fear He will grant them peace and security. They will worship Me and will not associate anything with Me."

"He also said concerning the Holy Prophet[sa]: He does not speak out of his own desire; it is but revelation from God (53:4-5). The Holy Prophet[sa] was most truthful and most trustworthy. He said that Allah would raise among his people at the beginning of every century one who would revive the faith. Thus I was among those who awaited this mercy of His; and for this purpose I travelled to the place of the manifestation of the lights of truth and certainty, the Sacred House of Allah. I went through forests and crossed deserts looking for him among the godly.

"In blessed Mecca, I encountered the most pious and God-fearing Sayyid Ḥusain, and met the revered Shaikh Muhammad Khazrajī. In Medina I had the honour of being in the company of my master the great Shaikh ‘Abdul Ghanī Mujaddadī. I esteemed all of them as righteous and virtuous personages. May Allah reward them for their kindness to me. Amen. They ranked high as learned and pious divines, but they did not stand up to the enemies of Islam, nor did they strive to repel and remove their doubts. They remained engaged in worship in their retreats, and supplicated their Lord in solitude.

"I did not find any of the divines occupied with expounding the true message of Islam to Christians, Āryas, Brāhmus, atheists, philosphers, agnostics and other opponents of Islam. On the other hand, I discovered that in India more than a million Muslim students had abandoned the study of religious subjects, and had taken up with Western subjects and languages, and preferred the company of non-Muslims to that of Muslims.

"More than sixty million pamphlets, journals and books have been published in opposition to Islam, yet we hear contemporary Shaikhs and their followers affirm that it is contrary to the practice of eminent men of the faith to invite people to the acceptance of Islam and to hold debates with the opponents of Islam. Most of our divines are not even aware of the true state of affairs. The utmost reach of our research scholars is that the whole of their time is taken up in discussing such futile and almost

blasphemous questions as the possibility or impossibility of God affirming a falsehood, so that they have no time left to silence the opponents of Islam and to frustrate their designs.

"We must, however, acknowledge with gratitude the work done in this field by the great Shaikh Raḥmatullāh, Dr. Wazīr Khān, Imam ‘Abul Manṣūr of Delhi, Sayyid Muhammad ‘Alī of Cawnpore, the author of *Tanzīhul Qur’ān*, and others like them. May Allah bless their efforts, and He is the best Appreciator. But all their effort has been directed against only one section of the opponents of Islam, and it has not been fortified with heavenly signs and divine predictions. I was most eager to meet the perfect man who should be unique among his contemporaries, and should step out well equipped into the field in support of the faith to silence its opponents. When I returned home from the Ḥijāz, I was most perplexed. I went about eagerly in my search, awaiting the call of the righteous.

"In this situation I received intimation of the advent of the most exalted personage, the great learned divine, the Reformer[as] of the century, the Mahdi and Messiah[as] of the age, author of *Brāhīn-e-Aḥmadiyya*. I hastened to him to see for myself, and I realised at once that he was the Promised Arbiter[as], and it was he who had been appointed by Allah, the Exalted, for the revival of the faith. I immediately responded to the call of Allah, and fell into prostration in gratitude for this great bounty. 'Praise be to Thee, Most Merciful, and humble

thanks for Thy beneficence.' I devoted myself to the Mahdi[as] of the age, and pledged my allegiance to him with the utmost sincerity. His kindness and beneficence enveloped me completely and I loved him with the full devotion of my heart. I held him dearer than all my belongings, and my wife and children and parents and all my kindred and my very life itself. His knowledge, erudition and spiritual perception won the homage of my heart. I am most grateful to God that He led me to him. It is my good fortune that I preferred him to everything and devoted myself to his service like a faithful servant who is not found wanting in any respect. All thanks to Allah, the Most Beneficent, Who bestowed His beneficence upon me."[19]

It happened in this wise. A western educated Muslim, who held a high office, carried on a long discussion with Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] on the subject of Prophethood, a concept which he rejected with scorn. In the end one day he announced that he was convinced that the Holy Prophet[sa] was in truth *Khātamun Nabīyyīn[sa]* (Seal of the Prophets) and that he did not wish to prolong the discussion. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] felt this was too facile a declaration to be sincere, and asked him to set forth a reason in support of it. He responded with: "The Holy Prophet[sa] was very wise and far-sighted. He had realised that human intellect was developing rapidly and that henceforth the concept of Prophethood and revelation would no longer be subscribed to; he, therefore, announced that he was *Khātamun Nabīyyīn[sa]*." Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was shocked and disgusted with such crass stupidity and egregious folly. A short time thereafter the Prime Minister of the State gave

him an announcement of Ḥaḍrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad[as] of Qadian, which contained an effective refutation of the false notions of the high official which had distressed him deeply. He went with it immediately to him and said to him: "Here is an instance of a person who claims to be a recipient of revelation and affirms that God speaks to him;" to which the only rejoinder was: "It remains to be seen."

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was so deeply stirred by the announcement of Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] that he set out forthwith for Qadian to meet him and judge for himself. All through the journey he occupied himself with earnest supplications for guidance. He has described his instant reaction on seeing him in the following words: "As soon as I beheld him my heart testified that this was the Mirzā[as] and I would lay down my life for him." It was the end of his search. He had found that which he was seeking. He was then forty-three years old.

He offered to pledge his spiritual allegiance to Ḥaḍrat Mirzā Sahib, whose response was: "I am not authorised to accept such allegiance. I can take no step without divine direction."

"Then, could I be assured that when you have such direction, I would be the first one to be called upon to make the pledge?"

"You may be sure."

"Is there any special effort that I should put forth to win the love of God?"

"Write a book in refutation of Christian criticism of Islam."

He made up his mind to comply with the direction, though he did not know much about

Christianity, nor had he much acquaintance with the type of criticism that Christian apologists directed against Islam. Also he was kept very busy in Jammu and wondered how would he find time for the needed study, research and writing.

Departing from Qadian, and before returning to Jammu, he visited his hometown Bhera. There in a mosque the Imam, who was a Ḥāfiẓ of the Holy Quran and had been his school-fellow, started a discussion with him on free-will and predestination in surprisingly bold language. When other people left and he found himself alone with the Imam, he said to him: "Ḥāfiẓ Sahib, I perceive you have been influenced by Christianity;" to which he replied: "What harm is there in Christianity?" He suggested that the Imam and he should call on the Christian missionary with whom the Imam was in contact and have a talk with him. The Imam agreed and took him to the European missionary in Pind Dādan Khān, who received them courteously and hospitably but could not be persuaded to enter into a discussion. In the end he said he would send them his criticism of Islam in writing. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] said to the Imam: "Ḥāfiẓ Sahib, would you wait till you have read the criticism and its refutation before taking baptism?" The Imam signified that was only fair, and the reverend gentleman concurred.

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra], on leaving the missionary, enquired from the Imam: "Do you know of anyone else who is in the same situation in which you are?" He was told that the station master was of the same mind. So they made their way to the station master who affirmed that no religion could stand up against Christianity. He was, however, surprised to learn that the missionary had declined an oral

discussion, and he also agreed to wait till after a study of the missionary's objections and their refutation. The objections turned out to be varied and voluminous and it was recognised that it would take a year to prepare a reply and have it printed.

There had been a succession of earthquakes in the hill country that year and the terror inspired by them afflicted the son of the Rajah of Pūnch with insanity. The Rajah requested the Maharaja of Jammu to make the services of some highly qualified physician available for treatment of the prince. The Maharaja recommended Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra], who went over to Pūnch. He was allotted a comfortable residence outside the town. He had only just the one patient to take care of, and had plenty of time to make an intensive comparative study of the Bible and the Holy Quran and to make notes for preparing the reply to the objections of the missionary. Having made thorough preparation he wrote out a four volume refutation which he called *Faṣlul Khiṭāb*. By the time the manuscript was completed the prince had made a full recovery. The Rajah of Pūnch presented a pouch of several thousand rupees to the physician as a token of his gratitude. When he returned to Jammu the Maharaja asked him how much had the Rajah paid him, whereupon he placed the pouch before him. The Maharaja was indignant that he had been paid too little, and directed that he should, in addition, be paid a year's salary and allowances from the Jammu treasury. He sent the money and two volumes of his book to a printer in Delhi. When the printed book became available he despatched copies to, among others, the station master and the Imam in Bhera, who wrote back that a careful study of the book had removed all their doubts, they now believed sincerely in Islam and nothing further was needed.

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] kept in constant touch with Ḥaḍrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad[as] and continued to be guided and inspired by his letters and writings. He sought his advice concerning everything that he undertook. Several of his children died in their infancy, one after the other. On each occasion Ḥaḍrat Mirzā Sahib wrote to him seeking to console him, to furnish spiritual comfort to him, and to strengthen still further his faith in God and his reliance upon Him. In one of his early letters to him he urged him to supplicate in the following terms during his devotions in the latter part of the night: O my God and my Benefactor, I am a worthless creature of Thine, greatly sinful and heedless. Thou hast observed wrong after wrong on my part and hast bestowed upon me favour after favour. Thou hast seen me commit sin after sin, and hast conferred upon me bounty after bounty. Thou hast ever covered up my defaults and enriched me with Thy numerous gifts. I beseech Thee to have mercy again upon this unworthy and sinful creature of Thine and forgive his impudence and ingratitude. Do Thou, of Thy grace, deliver me from this sorrow of mine, for there is no Redeemer beside Thee.

On his part Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was wholly devoted to Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] and held back nothing from him. On one occasion he received a commission from him which was expressed in these terms:

> "Pundit Laikhrām has just published a book in refutation of my book *Brāhīn-e-Aḥmadiyya*, in which he has set forth a lot of nonsense,

which he calls *Takdhīb Brāhīn-e-Aḥmadiyya*. It is necessary that this bundle of falsehoods and impostures should be exposed as early as possible. I am fully occupied with the writing of *Sirāj-e-Munīr* and have no time to spare. I do not exaggerate, nor am I moved by a desire to praise you, when I say that God has impressed it on my mind that there is no one else whom He has filled with so much eagerness to serve the faith and to help me. I, therefore, ask you to take the trouble to read this book from beginning to end and prepare a list of all the objections raised by the author against Islam, and reflect upon the most reasonable answer to each objection. Thereafter draw up the answers, as God may instruct you, one by one separately, and send them to me. That which concerns me particularly I shall expound myself as I find the time. This is a very important enterprise, and I ask you most earnestly to embark upon it with all the concentration, zeal and devotion that you can muster; and as you have helped me to the utmost extent financially, you should do so equally with your God-given faculties.

"Our opponents have all united together against us, and are making every effort to bring Islam into disrepute. In my estimation he who comes into the field at this time and

> strives in the cause of Islam, undertakes something that pertains to the Prophets. Let me hear from you soon. May God be with you and help you."[20]

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] executed this commission in an excellent manner by the compilation of his book *Taṣdīq Brāhīn-e-Aḥmadiyya*.

On one occasion he fell ill with high fever and severe headache, and his illness was prolonged. When Ḥaḍrat Mirzā Ṣāḥib learnt of it he wrote to him that he was coming to Jammu to visit him, and added that in answer to his prayers for his recovery God had intimated to him that on his arrival he would find him convalescent, which proved to be the case. Ḥaḍrat Mirzā Sahib stayed in Jammu for three days.

Having spent several years in Jammu and Kashmir Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn's[ra] relations with the Maharaja and the Rajah of Pūnch had become quite intimate. He had also learnt something about palace intrigues and scrupulously kept out of them. He firmly repelled every approach made to him to supply information about the Maharaja to any one. His loyalty to him was tersely expressed: "He trusts me; I will not betray his confidence."

The Rajah of Pūnch made him an annual allowance, and he attended upon him when he came to Jammu. On one such occasion the Rajah was indisposed and Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] visited him and wrote out a prescription for him. When he was about to depart someone told him that a certain retainer of the Rajah wanted him to visit him. He said: "My residence is on his way home, he can stop on the way and see me." When this was conveyed to the retainer

he was annoyed and remarked: "It seems Nūr-ud-Dīn is becoming arrogant. I shall no longer let him attend on the Rajah." Thereafter for several months he was not called in to see the Rajah.[21]

Then it so happened that the Maharaja had to go to Lahore and he was accompanied by the Rajah of Pūnch, who fell ill in Lahore. As no other physician was available among the party, he sent for Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] at noon, when no one else was present. When he arrived, the Rajah said to him: "Your allowance for the current year has not been remitted to you. I shall direct that two years' allowance may be remitted to you immediately." Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] ventured the observation: "Perhaps you have sent for me at this unusual hour so that the retainer who is annoyed with me for refusing to visit him should not come to know of my coming to see you. If that is so, he might resent my treating you and might do you some harm." The Rajah confessed: "We have to be careful of them. These wretches are not beyond having recourse to poison."

He continued to treat the Rajah, but his health deteriorated progressively and shortly after his return to Pūnch he died. Someone warned Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] that the deceased Rajah's son, who succeeded his father, and whom he had treated during his long illness, and who had always professed friendly sentiments towards him, contemplated prosecuting him for having caused his father's death by malicious wrong treatment, perhaps even by poison. He felt the prince was being instigated by the disgruntled retainer. But the matter went no further.

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was very generous in helping deserving students develop their intellectual faculties. At one time he formed a design of training a

dozen students for the service of Islam and arranged for them to achieve high proficiency in one or two of several important languages like Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, Sanskrit and English. He spent a large sum of money on the project. But when the carefully selected students had completed their courses of training, not one of them was found willing to embark upon the design their benefactor had in mind. He was disappointed, but bore them no grudge; nor was he discouraged.

On 20th February, 1886, Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] published in an announcement a grand prophecy concerning the birth of a son who, by divine grace, would be equipped with extraordinarily lofty qualities and faculties, a part of whose description in the words of revelation was:

> "Son, delight of the heart, exalted, noble, a manifestation of the First and the Last, and of the True and the High, as if God had descended from heaven."

That son was born on 12th January, 1889. That year proved to be a landmark in the history of religion and of Islam, and in the life of Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn. The Ahmadiyya Movement was inaugurated in that year, and certain events of great moment affecting Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] occurred in that year, a brief mention of some of which may be made here.

He had been married twice, but all his male children had died in their infancy. Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] was keenly anxious that he should marry a third time, and supplicated for guidance and made enquiries about a suitable match. Finally, in his letter of 23rd January, 1889, he recommended that Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] should consider favourably making a

proposal for the hand of Ṣughrā Begum, daughter of the late Ṣūfī Ahmad Jān, a saintly personage of Ludhiana, originally of Delhi. The proposal was made and accepted, the formal ceremony was performed in February and the wedding took place in March 1889. The marriage proved happy and blessed, by the grace and mercy of God, and of the male issue of the couple four grew up to manhood, three of whom married in due course and were blessed with progeny. The daughter, Amatul Ḥa'ī, on arrival at maturity, married the Promised Son of Ḥaḍrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmadas who had been born on 12th January, 1889.

Ḥaḍrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmadas had, on 12th January 1889, under divine direction, announced the establishment of his Movement, and had set forth the conditions of initiation. Later he appointed 23rd March 1889, for the swearing in of his disciples at Ludhiana. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīnra was the first to make the pledge of spiritual allegiance to the Holy Founderas of the Movement. This meant a total and permanent commitment, which he carried out in the minutest detail in an exemplary manner. The whole of his life thereafter was an illustration of the true meaning of the pledge. After making the covenant of spiritual allegiance he returned to Jammu, but kept in constant touch with his spiritual preceptor through regular correspondence and frequent visits to Qadian, where he constructed a modest pied-à-terre of sun-baked bricks.

In May, 1889, his mother died in Bhera in his absence. Eighteen years earlier when papers daily reported large numbers of casualties in the Russo-Turkish War, he had suggested to his mother that she, having eight sons and two daughters, all of whom, except himself, were married, might permit him to

dedicate himself to the cause of God. She was terrified and ejaculated: "How can that be while I am alive! He did not insist. Thereafter his brothers died, one after the other, at short intervals. After the death of each, his widow collected all his belongings and departed from the family mansion, which thus became deserted. On one occasion he came home from Jammu to visit his mother in midsummer. After the midday meal, when he was taking his siesta, he was suddenly awakened by his mother's distressed cry proceeding from the adjoining room: "To Allah we belong and to Him shall we return (2:157)." He went over to her and remonstrated that a formula indicative of steadfast resignation to the divine will should not be pronounced in a distressed tone. Then he asked her: "Do you realise why this large house is now deserted?" She replied: "Yes, I remember what you said long ago. I have recalled it on the occasion of the death of every one of my sons." He enquired: "Do you realise anything else?" She said: "Yes, I know that despite my wish that you should be with me at the time of my death and take care of everything," I shall die in your absence. And so it came about. He was in Jammu and could not reach her in time.

VIII

MIGRATION

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] continued in attendance upon the Maharaja for another three years. He was well satisfied with his situation and saw no reason for making a change. There were currents and cross-currents of intrigue, but so long as he enjoyed the Maharaja's confidence he did not feel concerned about anything else.

In 1892, Rajah Sūraj Kaul was Senior Member of Council in the State. He had for some time suffered from pain in the kidney. He desired Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] to treat him, and he, after thorough examination, having diagnosed stone in the kidney, advised him accordingly. The patient was much agitated and burst out: "Are you not aware that seven European Physicians have served under me?"

"That has no relevance to stone in the kidney."

"Also one of my sons is a doctor?"

"A doctor's father has no immunity against stone in the kidney."[22]

The Rajah was upset and dismissed the Physician. After some time Colonel Perry, of the Medical College, Lahore, and another British surgeon happened to visit Jammu, and the Maharaja asked them to examine Rajah Sūraj Kaul and prescribe the treatment. During the course of the examination the Rajah mentioned that a Ḥakīm had told him that he had stone in the kidney. Upon this Col. Perry directed his colleague to make an incision and probe for the

stone; but no stone was revealed. Upon this Col. Perry himself took the scalpel, and on widening the incision discovered the stone which he took out. Both surgeons were gratified and praised the skill of the Ḥakīm.

After his recovery Rajah Sūraj Kaul sent for Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] once more, but he declined to visit him. He had realised that the Rajah was not well-disposed towards him and a visit would not mend matters. It appeared that the Rajah had persuaded the Maharaja to dispense with the services of Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn, and may have mentioned this to his colleagues in the Council, one of whom, Bag Ram, called on him and suggested that it would be wise on his part to send his resignation to the Maharaja. He told him that Islam disapproved of voluntarily discarding one's source of livelihood. Besides he may have felt that sending in his resignation might savour of ingratitude towards the Maharaja. Shortly after, he received a notice that his services had been dispensed with.

He immediately informed his spiritual preceptor of this development, who, in the course of his reply, observed:

> "One of the ways of Allah of demonstrating His love for a servant is to try him. This is such a trial and is not something to be afraid of. Allah knows well how much and how earnestly I have prayed for you. I shall continue my supplications in the hope of receiving a cheering response. My prayers for you have the special quality that prayers for a devoted friend have. It is not possible to express in words the degree and quality of our trust in the power and grace and bounties of our

Supreme, Ever Living, Mighty King and Master at Whose threshold we are ever prostrate."

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] had received a substantial salary from the State, and from time to time he was bestowed very valuable gifts in diverse forms, so that he had had a very large income, all of which he devoted towards the promotion of good causes, including the welfare of orphans, widows, students and the needy. A Hindu shopkeeper had always kept urging him to set aside a portion of his income against the inevitable rainy day; but he told him that would be inconsistent with his complete trust in God and that God would always provide for his needs. On the day he received notice of dismissal the shopkeeper came to him and enquired: "Maulawī Sahib[ra], do you now recall my advice to you?" He told him that he scorned his advice as much as ever.

While the shopkeeper was still in converse with him, a messenger from the State treasury brought him a letter from the Treasury enclosing the sum of four hundred and eighty rupees as his salary for the days of his service in the month. This upset the shopkeeper as crass folly on the part of the Treasury officials. He had not yet recovered his equanimity when an emissary of a Rani came with a large sum of money sent by the Rani, with an apology that at the moment she could not lay her hands on a larger amount. This confounded the shopkeeper altogether. To cover his confusion he muttered: "This is all very well, but you owe nearly two hundred thousand rupees to a creditor and he is not likely to let you depart without your making such arrangements as he should consider satisfactory for the discharge of your debt." Just then an agent of the creditor arrived and with folded hands submitted most respectfully: "I have received

instructions from my master to make all arrangements about your departure and the despatch of all your baggage, and to advance to you in cash whatever amount you may desire." Maulawī Sahib asked him to convey his thanks to his master, and added: "I have received more than I need from the Treasury and from another source, and I shall take all my baggage with me."

The shopkeeper stood up, shook his head and remarked: "It seems there is favouritism with God also. We have to work hard from morning to evening to earn a few rupees, and here is this fool of a creditor who, instead of demanding the repayment of his loan, is ready to advance more."

Maulawī Sahib rejoined: "Allah is aware of the hearts of His creatures. I shall, *Inshā' Allāh*, repay this loan in a short while. These matters are beyond your ken."[23]

From Jammu he moved to Bhera where he designed the construction of a large building which should serve both as his residence and his clinic. While the construction was in progress he had to go to Lahore to purchase certain material needed for the building. Having completed his errand in Lahore, he thought he might delay his return to Bhera by one day and make a hurried trip to Qadian to see Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as]. During his interview with him he was asked: "Are you free now?" to which he replied in the affirmative, and felt it would not be appropriate to ask for leave to depart the same day. He thought he should postpone his departure for a couple of days. The next day Ḥaḍrat Sahib[as] said to him: "You would need someone to look after you, so you might send for your wife." He wrote to his wife to come over, and intimated that as he might have to stay in Qadian for

some time, further construction of the building should be suspended. After his wife had arrived in Qadian Ḥaḍrat Sahib[as] observed one day: "Maulawī Sahib, you are fond of books, you might have your books sent over from Bhera." He made arrangements accordingly. Some days later he was told not to consider Bhera as his home any more. He felt some apprehension at this. He would not visit Bhera again, but it might not be possible for him to stop thinking of it as his home. He often mentioned later that God, of His grace, so controlled his thoughts that the idea of Bhera being his home never crossed his mind.

Qadian was a small town of a few hundred people, eleven miles from the nearest railway station and telegraph office, with which it was connected by means of a sandy track pitted with potholes. The only means of communication with the outside world was through a sub-post office. There was a total lack of urban amenities and facilities. Even the supply of drinking water was precarious. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] took up his residence in his unpretentious sun-baked brick lodging, happy in the realisation of his soul's cherished dream. His only purpose was to win the pleasure of Allah, through utter devotion to his spiritual preceptor, commissioned by God to bring about the revival of Islam.

A leading citizen of Bhera wrote to him that he was ill, and that as he had been his family physician he desired him to visit him and give directions with regard to his treatment. He wrote back that he had migrated from Bhera and was now permanently settled at Qadian and could not move out of it without the permission of his master Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as]. The patient then wrote to Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as], begging him to direct Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] to visit

him and prescribe for him. On being so directed Maulawī Sahib went to Bhera, visited the patient at his residence at the edge of town, examined him, prescribed for him, and without entering the town or meeting any of his friends, or looking at the old family mansion or the partly-built construction he had designed, returned to Qadian, as if Bhera had never been his home.

A wealthy citizen of Rawalpindi came to Qadian and begged Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] to direct Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] to go to Rawalpindi and treat a member of his family who was ill. Ḥaḍrat Sahib[as] told him: "I am sure if I were to ask Maulawī Sahib[ra] to plunge into the ocean, or to jump into the fire, he would do so without the least hesitation, but I must have regard to his comfort and convenience also. His wife is expecting a baby, and I cannot ask him to go out of Qadian." When Maulawī Sahib[ra] heard this he was so deeply moved that he found it difficult to give expression to his joy that his master had so much confidence in him.

A notable Chieftain had come to Qadian and was being treated by Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra]. One day two of his retainers came to him and told him that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province was about to visit the Chieftain’s part of the Province who desired that Maulawī Sahib[ra] should accompany him and be present on the occasion. He told them that he could not stir out of Qadian without his master’s permission. They then waited on Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] and submitted the Chieftain’s request to him. He told them: "Maulawī Sahib’s[ra] activities here are a source of physical and spiritual benefit for a large number of people; I do not deem it proper that they should be suspended for the sake of a purely mundane purpose."

A Hindu of Batāla begged him to examine his ailing wife and advise on her. Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] granted permission for him to go to Batāla for the purpose, and expressed the hope that he would return the same night. He went to Batāla, examined the lady and prescribed the treatment to be followed. By the time he was ready to set out on his return journey it was dark and it came on to rain very heavily. Everyone tried to dissuade him from embarking upon the extremely hazardous enterprise of travelling by night to Qadian; but he would not be dissuaded. His master wanted him back that night and he would not fail him. He struggled through the fierce storm, braved all the hazards and arrived back at Qadian during the latter part of the night. Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] passed an anxious night and at the end of the dawn Prayer service enquired whether Maulawī Sahib[ra] had arrived safely. Maulawī Sahib[ra] stepped forward to assure him that he had.

About a year after he had settled at Qadian, a man came from Jammu and presented to Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] one hundred and ninety five thousand rupees in cash. That was the exact amount that he owed to his creditor. He enquired why the money was being presented to him. The man explained that the Maharaja had laid down the previous year that the contract in respect of the forests of the State would be subject to the condition that the contractor would pay one half of his net profit to Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra]. Tenders were made on that basis and the contract was assigned to him, and he had brought one half of the net profit to be handed over to Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra]. The latter directed him to take the money back to Jammu and pay it over to his creditor. The following year the contractor came with one half of the net profit of that year, but Maulawī Sahib[ra] refused to accept it.

The contractor urged that he was under obligation to pay it to him. It was a condition of his contract. But Maulawī Sahib[ra] would have none of it.

"You accepted it last year; he pleaded."

"That was a divine bounty bestowed to relieve me of my indebtedness. Now I have no such need."[24]

IX

IDEAL DISCIPLE

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] had pledged his allegiance to Ḥaḍrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad[as], believing him righteous in his claim that he was a recipient of Divine revelation and had been commissioned to carry out a revival of Islam. When his status as the Promised Messiah[as] and Mahdi was emphasised in the revelations vouchsafed to him, a fierce storm of opposition was roused against him, and some of those who had hailed him as the greatest champion of Islam in more than a millennium now turned against him and denounced him as a disbeliever, outside the pale of Islam, and reviled him in foul terms. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] stood firm as a rock in his support, and exerted himself to the utmost in championing his cause—which he sincerely and passionately believed to be the true cause of Islam.

On his side the Promised Messiah[as], as we shall henceforward designate Ḥaḍrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad[as], esteemed his first disciple highly and expressed his appreciation of him in glowing terms. For instance:

> "Ever since I have been commissioned by Allah, the Exalted, and have been revived by the Ever-Living, the Self-Subsisting One, I have been eager to meet distinguished helpers of the faith, with an eagerness greater than that of a thirsty one for water. I supplicated day and night: 'Lord, I am alone and helpless, who will be my helper and my assistant?' When my

hands rose repeatedly in supplication, and the atmosphere became charged with my prayer, Allah, the Exalted, heard my entreaty and the mercy of the Lord of the worlds was roused in my behalf and He bestowed upon me a sincere and faithful friend who is the very eye of my helpers and is the essence of those who are my faithful friends in the cause of the faith. His name, like his shining qualities, is Nūr-ud-Dīn (light of the faith). His birthplace is Bhera, and by descent he is *Quraishī*, *Hāshamī*, and thus one of the chieftains of Islam. He is of gentle birth. My joy at meeting him was such as if a severed limb of mine had been restored to me. My heart was filled with such delight as was experienced by the Holy Prophet[sa] on meeting Ḥaḍrat 'Umar[ra]. When he came to me and met me, and I looked at him, I perceived that he was a sign out of the signs of my Lord; and I realised that he was the result of my constant supplications, and my intuition informed me that he was one of the chosen servants of Allah. I observe that wisdom flows from his lips, and heavenly light descends upon him. When he addresses himself to the exposition of the Book of Allah, he reveals the sources of mysteries, and causes the springs of subtleties to gush forth, and uncovers wonderful treasures of wisdom that had hitherto been covered up. He investigates the minutest particles of erudition, and delving into the roots of verities exposes shining lights. The wise stretch forth their necks in token of affirmation of the miraculous effectiveness of his discourses. He demonstrates the truth like a polished lump of gold, and uproots the objections of the opponents.

> "All praise is due to Allah, the Exalted, Who bestowed this friend upon me at a time when I was in great need of him. I pray to Allah that He may bless his age, his health and his dignity. God is my witness that I perceive unusual grandeur in his words, and esteem him as one of the foremost in resolving the mysteries of the Holy Quran, and in penetrating into its meaning and import. I conceive of him as two high mountains, one of erudition and the other of wisdom, facing each other, and I do not know which of them surpasses the other. He is one of the gardens of the sublime faith. Lord, send down on him blessings from heaven, and safeguard him against the mischief of his enemies, and be with him wheresoever he might be and have mercy on him here and hereafter, O Most Merciful One, Amen.
>
> I render humble thanks to Allah, the Exalted, that He has bestowed upon me such an excellent faithful friend who is righteous and possesses learning of the highest degree. He is far-sighted and keenly discerning. He strives in the cause of Allah, and has outstripped his contemporaries in his devoted love of Him.
>
> "He is in such complete accord with me as the pulse is in accord with the breath."[25]

On one occasion Maulawī 'Abdul Karīm's[ra] wife and Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn's[ra] wife each contended that her husband was the favourite of the Promised Messiah[as]. They invited his wife, Ḥaḍrat Ummul Mu'minīn[ra], to pronounce on the question. She said there was no difficulty, the question could be settled in a trice. She approached the Promised Messiah[as] and began: "Your dearest companion ..." He interrupted

her and enquired in an agitated tone: "Is anything the matter with Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn?"

Some time after the death of Maulawī ‘Abdul Karīm[ra], Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] happened to fall ill. The Promised Messiah[as] visited him every day, and on one occasion busied himself with preparing some medicine for him. Ḥaḍrat Ummul Mu’minīn[ra] sensing his anxiety and seeking to comfort him observed: Maulawī Burhānuddīn[ra] has passed away, Maulawī ‘Abdul Karīm[ra] has died; may Allah, of His mercy, restore Maulawī Sahib[ra] speedily to health; whereupon the Promised Messiah[as] affirmed: "This one is the equal of a thousand ‘Abdul Karīms."[26]

A slight incident occasioned some irritation to the Promised Messiah[as] and he admonished his company in these terms:

> "Some of you have witnessed numerous signs and yet their faith lacks absolute certainty. But there are others who have not felt any need of signs. There is Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] who believed instantly, and being a descendant of Ḥaḍrat ‘Umar[ra], followed the example of Ḥaḍrat Abū Bakr[ra]." Hearing this Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] stood up and submitted: "Ḥaḍrat ‘Umar[ra] affirmed his faith in the words: 'We are happy with Allah as our Lord, and with Muhammad as His Prophet[sa].' I have never harboured any doubt concerning your claim; and I too affirm: I am happy with Allah as my Lord, and with you as the Messiah and Mahdi[sa]. The Promised Messiah[as] was so pleased that his face lit up and he dispensed with further admonition."

An opponent of the Promised Messiah[as] wrote that Mirza Sahib[as] had got together a community by misleading a few Muslims; had he succeeded in converting a number of non-Muslims to Islam, that might have been a reason for examining his claim seriously. On this being brought to the notice of the Promised Messiah[as], he directed Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] to prepare a list of non-Muslims who had accepted Islam at the hands of the Promised Messiah[as]. In carrying out this direction Maulawī Sahib[as] inscribed his own name and particulars as the first entry in the list. On a friend expressing surprise at this he observed: "I had the honour of learning true Islam only through the Promised Messiah[as]."

A member of the Movement requested the Promised Messiah[as] to suggest a suitable match for his daughter. On his doing so, the father had qualms in acting upon the suggestion. When Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] heard of this he was indignant and exclaimed: "Were Mirza Sahib[as] to direct me to give Amatul Ḥa'ī[ra] (his daughter) in marriage to the son of Nihālī (the sweeper woman) I would have no hesitation in carrying out his direction."[27]

A worldly wise person, without questioning the sincerity of his affirmation, might esteem such devotion as the folly of blind faith. But Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn's[ra] faith was rooted in the firm rock of reasoned conviction (12:109) and was thus fully enlightened. It is part of such faith that the anointed ones of Allah are invested with a super-sensory perception which enables them to distinguish between right and wrong on every occasion, and to recognise that which is beneficial and that which is harmful. That is why it is perfectly true that had the Promised Messiah[as] required of him something that would have

been tantamount to plunging in the ocean or jumping into the fire, he would have complied without hesitation, in the full certainty that whatever he had been asked to do was wholly beneficial. This is in accord with the teaching of the Holy Quran:

> "It may be that you dislike a thing which is good for you, and it may also be that you prefer a thing and it may be the worse for you. Allah knows all and you know not (2:217)."

> "It may be that you dislike something in which Allah has placed abundance of good (4:20)."

It is worthy of note that Amatul Ḥa'ī, daughter of Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra], when she grew up, married Ḥaḍrat Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra], the Promised Son and second Successor of the Promised Messiah[as].

On one occasion Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was occupied with Prayer when he heard the Promised Messiah[as] call him. He forthwith interrupted his *Ṣalāt* (Prayer) and went over to the Promised Messiah[as].[28] Sticklers for strict compliance with prescribed procedure might question the propriety of his action, but a similar gesture on the part of another disciple, which was observed by the Promised Messiah[as], had his approval. Maulawī Sayyid Sarwar Shāh, another eminent divine, happened to be a little late for a Prayer service and arriving in the mosque during the course of the service took his place at the extreme right end of the last row of the worshippers. At the conclusion of the service he reverted to the standing posture to continue his worship so as to make up the portion of the service that he had missed. The rest of the congregation waited for the departure

of the Promised Messiah[as], before dispersing. His way to his own quarters led across the space where Sayyid Sarwar Shāh was still engaged in his worship, and there he came to a halt. When the worshipper perceived that he was blocking him, he forthwith terminated his devotions to enable him to pass, upon which a neighbour said to him in a whisper: "Why have you interrupted your Prayer?" The Promised Messiah[as] caught the whisper and observed: "Maulawī Sahib[ra] has done right. Good deeds wipe out defaults (11:115)."

It was Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn's[ra] routine that whatever he might be occupied with, the moment he had intimation that the Promised Messiah[as] was accessible, he would stop in the middle of a sentence, stand up and dragging his shoes, and trailing his turban in the process of winding it up, proceed to wait on him.

During one of the Promised Messiah's[as] visits to Delhi, his father-in-law, Ḥaḍrat Mīr Nāṣir Nawab[ra], who was of the party, fell ill, and he decided to send for Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] from Qadian. He directed the despatch of a telegram to him summoning him to Delhi. Whoever drafted the telegram simply worded it: "Come immediately." When Maulawī Sahib[ra] received the telegram he was in his clinic. He stood up immediately, sent a hurried message to his wife that he had been summoned to Delhi by Ḥaḍrat Sahib[as], left for Batāla just as he was without any money in his pocket. At Batāla railway station a wealthy Hindu citizen requested him to go home with him and examine his ailing wife. He said he had to catch the next train for Amritsar, as he was on his way to Delhi, and had not the time to go into town. The anxious husband offered to fetch his wife to the railway station

which he did, and Maulawī Sahib[ra] examined her and wrote out a prescription for her. The husband was so gratified that he slipped away and brought him a ticket for the railway journey to Delhi and made him a present of a substantial sum of money as his fee. The next morning he presented himself before his master in Delhi.[29]

The birth of Jesus[as] without a father had been a somewhat controversial question. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] had held the view that Jesus had a father. The Promised Messiah[as], in his book *Mawāhibur Raḥmān*, announced that it was part of his doctrine that Jesus[as] had been born without a father. On reading this Maulawī Sahib[ra] discarded his view and fell into line with the view propounded by the Promised Messiah[as]. He frankly confessed this change of view in his book *Nūr-ud-Dīn*.

He had also opined that the fire mentioned in 21:70 was the fire of opposition; but the Promised Messiah[as] observed: "There is no need to have recourse to such a construction. I too have been called Abraham[as] by God. Those who are unable to comprehend how the fire was cooled for Abraham[as] are welcome to throw me into the fire and see whether I emerge safe from it or not." So Maulawī Sahib[ra], in refutation of Dharampāl's objection, wrote in *Nūr-ud-Dīn*: "You can throw our Leader into the fire, and you will see that Allah, the Exalted, will, according to His promise, safeguard him against the fire as He had safeguarded Abraham[as]."[30]

When the Promised Messiah[as] expounded his claim of reflective Prophethood as derived from the Prophethood of the Holy Prophet[sa], someone asked Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra]: "Can there be a Prophet after the Holy Prophet[sa]?"

"No; was the reply."

"Then what would you say concerning one who claimed to be a Prophet?"

"I would see if he is truthful and righteous. If he is, I would consider his claim on the merits."

Such was Nūr-ud-Dīnra, that is why the Promised Messiahas held him out as an example in his Persian verse:

> "How excellent would it be if everyone of the community were a Nūr-ud-Dīn;
>
> So would it be if every heart were filled with the light of the certainty of faith."

EMINENT DIVINE

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] came to be acknowledged an outstanding physician of his time. In diagnosis he had not an equal. His striking improvisations fully justified themselves. He made no discrimination between his patients; rich and poor alike received of his best, which also included his earnest prayers. One night he was approached by someone who was distracted with anxiety on account of the agony through which his wife was passing in her labour. He feared she would not survive the night. Maulawī Sahib[ra] gave him some medicine, and instructed him about the treatment of the patient. He said he would keep supplicating for her and should be kept informed of her condition. He heard nothing more about her during the rest of the night. On sending for news of her early next morning the husband came, happy and cheerful, and told him his wife was safely delivered of her baby within an hour of his return home and had spent a restful night.

"Why did you not let me know?"

"Sir, as there was no further cause for anxiety, I felt there was no need to disturb you again during the night."

"Disturb me! Do you know that while all of you slept peacefully during the rest of the night, Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] spent the hours in agonised supplication, without a wink of sleep?"

Happening to be in Lahore on one occasion, he was called in to advise on the case of a Hindu lady of respectable family, who had stood up among a number of women mourning the death of a relative and in the paroxysm of grief had repeatedly raised her arms above her head. She found that she had done it once too often. Her arms stiffened and would not be lowered. Physicians were at a loss and could not think of anything that might help restore the flexibility of the muscles of her arms. When he was informed of her condition he, without asking to see her or even entering the large room in which she stood motionless, suggested that the handsomest well-proportioned young man in the neighbourhood be summoned. On his arrival he told him to go into the room and walking purposefully up to the lady make a realistic gesture of disrobing her. He carried out his direction and the moment the afflicted woman perceived his design she emitted a cry of distress and her arms fell to her side. The shock had jolted her nervous system back into normal functioning.

But physical and mental therapy was not alone his forte. His keenest interest was engaged by spiritual therapy. He was devoted to the study and healing of souls. For this purpose his materia medica, his pharmacopoeia and his vade mecum was the Holy Quran. He had committed it to memory and his scholarship of it was deep and profound. He did not miss any opportunity of expounding the inexhaustible treasures of wisdom comprised in it. He continued teaching it up to his last moments of full consciousness. He was wont to say:

> "The Quran is my sustenance and is the source of my soul's refreshment. I read it a number of times a day, but my soul never has

its fill. It is healing, it is mercy, it is light, it is guidance."

When asked how should the Quran be studied he made answer:

"The Quran is the easiest book in the world to read, for him who is keen on studying it. The first and most essential condition for its study is righteousness. God has promised that He will teach a righteous one the Quran. A student of the Quran needs leisure and freedom from anxiety about earning his livelihood. If he pursues the ways of righteousness, God provides for him whence he cannot conceive of, and becomes his guardian.

"The second condition for the study of the Quran is due striving with full devotion to God, whereby God has promised to resolve all difficulties.

"The method of studying the Quran is that the student should first read it from beginning to end as if it is being revealed to him and every verse is addressed to him. For instance, where mention is made of Adam[as] and Iblīs, he should check up on himself and enquire from himself whether he is Adam[as] or *Iblīs*, and so on throughout. Where he encounters a difficulty he should note it down. In his second reading he should include his wife and children. He will find most of the difficulties of his first reading resolved. In his third reading he should include his friends. His fourth reading should be addressed to a wider circle. He should pray constantly for the resolving of his difficulties."[31]

His exegesis of the Holy Quran was superb. He was invited to address the Annual Conference of the *Anjuman Ḥimāyat-e-Islām* in Lahore in 1893. He chose as his text:

> "Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth. His light is as if there were a lustrous niche, wherein is a lamp contained in a crystal globe, the globe as bright as a glittering star. The lamp is lit with the oil of a blessed tree, an olive, neither of the east nor of the west. The oil would well-nigh glow forth even though no fire were to touch it. Light upon light! Allah guides to His light whomsoever He wills (24:36)."

He opened with the observation:

> "Some of the audience are committed to the Eastern tradition, and some of the younger generation are admirers of Western culture and civilisation. That which I wish to expound is, in the words of the Holy Quran, neither of the East nor of the West. The Holy Quran makes provision for the welfare of the whole of mankind."[32]

He then proceeded to develop his theme on the basis of the text he had cited and held the audience spellbound throughout his discourse.

Among those present on the occasion was the well-known missionary of Islam, Maulawī Ḥasan 'Alī[ra] of Bhāgalpur in Bihar. He recorded his impressions of the speech in the following terms:

> "In 1893 I had occasion to attend the Annual Conference of *Anjuman Ḥimāyat-e-Islām*, where I met that erudite commentator of the Quran, Maulawī Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra], who

has no equal, not only in India but also in much farther regions. I had heard great praise of him in my visit to the Pubjab in 1887 also. On this occasion he recited certain verses of the Quran and proceeded to make an exposition of them; I am unable to express in words how deeply I was affected by his discourse. When he finished, I stood up and said: 'I am proud that my eyes have beheld so great a divine and commentator, and the Muslims should be proud that there is among them such a learned personality.'[33]

'I was eager to meet Maulawī Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra], but he did me the honour to come over and meet me. In the course of our conversation I asked him: 'You have sworn allegiance to Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as], can you tell me what benefit have you derived from it?' He answered: 'I had tried to get rid of a sin and had not succeeded. After I swore allegiance to Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as], not only did I get rid of it, it became repugnant to me.'"[34]

"If he had recited to me some of the miracles and prophecies of Ḥaḍrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad[as], I may not have attached much importance to them, but I was deeply affected by what he told me."

Later Maulawī Ḥasan 'Alī[ra] visited Qadian, met the Promised Messiah[as], spent some time in his company and swore allegiance to him. He proved himself a sincere and devoted member of the Ahmadiyya Movement. A large number of people joined the Movement in response to his exhortations.

Passing through Lahore on one occasion in February 1901, Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was persuaded

to deliver a speech to a large audience. He spoke on the Existence of God on the basis of the verities set out in the Holy Quran. A member of the Movement took along with him to listen to the speech one Jalāluddīn, a clerk in the Railway Offices, who was a confirmed atheist. The speech finished at 1:30 a.m., and the audience dispersed. Next afternoon returning from the office Jalāluddīn confessed to his friend that having listened to Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn's[ra] speech he had repented of his disbelief, and now believed sincerely in God. He was sure that no one could refute his reasoning.

In June 1902, a Hindu youth came to Qadian and accepted Islam. The Promised Messiah[as] directed Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] to instruct him in the principles of Islam. This is what he told him:

> "Islam means three things. First, to believe that the Creator who controls everything is One. There is no one besides Him before whom a person may prostrate himself, nor for whose sake a fast may be observed, nor in whose name an animal may be slaughtered (for He alone is the Master of all living creatures), nor may a circuit be performed for anyone else. All fear and hope must be centered in Him. This is the meaning of: There is no God besides Allah. All pain, all comfort, all fulfilment of needs is within His control. All supplication must be made to Him. To believe sincerely in all this is to be a Muslim. For this no ceremonial or baptism is needed.
>
> The next stage is to believe in Muhammad[sa] as the Prophet and Messenger of God. He was sent into the world to proclaim the majesty, the holiness and praise of God, and to

teach people the same. Thus the second element of Islam is: Muhammad[sa] is the Messenger of God.

The third element if Islam is to promote the welfare of all creatures of God.

In addition a Muslim should believe in God's angels, Prophets and Books; and also that there is a recompense for everything. This last is the Judgment.

These are matters of belief. It is also incumbent upon a Muslim to perform the *Ṣalāt*, to observe the fast of Ramadan, to pay the Zakat for the uplift of the poor and the needy, to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, if he can afford the journey.

In short Islam means sincere faith; he who believes sincerely and acts in conformity with his belief is a Muslim. So you should have sincere faith in: There is no God beside Allah, and Muhammad[sa] is His Messenger. No ceremonial is involved. You should, however, take a bath, so that you should be able to supplicate: Allah, I am washing my body clean; do Thou wash my inner self clean. Also, change your clothes, as a token that you have discarded sloth."[35]

The Promised Messiah[as] named the young man 'Abdullāh[ra]. He worked zealously for many years in Nūr Hospital and became known as Dr. 'Abdullāh[ra]. He set an example of pious living and was very popular.

Under the direction of the Promised Messiah[as], a brief commentary on chapter 103 of the Holy Quran

by Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was recorded on a phonograph record in October 1902, which ran as follows:

"In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Ever Merciful. We call to witness the decline of the day, that surely man suffers continuous loss, except those who believe and work righteously, and exhort one another to hold fast to the Truth, and exhort one another to continue steadfast (103:1-4). In this short chapter Allah, the Exalted, Lord of the worlds, Most Gracious, Ever Merciful, Master of the Day of Judgment, has set forth, of His pure grace, diverse ways of achieving nearness to Him, finding comfort, being honoured and making progress. First He has indicated that the time of a Messenger of Allah, and the time of man's perfect comprehension and beneficial experiences, is like the latter part of the day when the sun is in decline. As thereafter no time is left for congregational worship, which is a source of spiritual exaltation for the faithful, and of achieving nearness to God, and an occasion for supplication, so after the time of a Messenger of Allah, which is the time of man's perfect comprehension and beneficial experiences, no time is left for man within which to make up for his loss and his deficiencies. Therefore, during the time of a Messenger of Allah, when man enjoys full comprehension, he should occupy himself with (a) acquiring true and correct knowledge of, and belief in, the Existence, Unity, Uniqueness of God and His being without associate in His attributes and in His exaltedness; carrying out the holy suggestions of God's angels, having

faith in Allah's books, His Messengers, His judgment and other verities; (b) acting perfectly faithfully in accord with these verities; (c) continuing till his last breath propagating the Truth, and (d) endeavouring to persuade others to act in accord with all the verities so as to become steadfast in eschewing vice and adhering to virtue."[36]

A newcomer to Qadian, in February 1903, described his first impression as follows:

> My companion and I arrived in Qadian about the time of the afternoon Prayer service. We were directed to Masjid Aqṣā. After the service the worshippers ranged themselves in a circle, the Holy Quran in hand, to listen to a lesson by a personage of venerable appearance. He began by reciting a section of the Holy Book in a manner that charmed his listeners and moved them strongly. Thereafter he proceeded to expound the meaning of the verses that he had recited and set forth the philosophy and wisdom inculcated therein. I had never heard the like of it before. My heart was deeply moved, and I enquired from my neighbour: 'Is he the Promised Messiahas? He said: No, he is Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīnra.' I was lost in wonder. If this paragon was only a disciple, how exalted must be his preceptor!"[37]

The Editor of *Badr*, an eminent scholar in his own right, gave expression to his impressions of the daily lesson of the Holy Quran given by Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīnra, in these terms:

> "He did not start this lesson in Qadian. He has been serving the Holy Quran in this

manner since a long time. I was young when I began attending his lesson of the Holy Quran in Jammu and in Kashmir. It was this lesson that made me a true Muslim, and it was this lesson that later made me an *Aḥmadī*. I have found it so beneficial that having attended it daily over a number of years, I still derive fresh benefit from it every day. It is only in his lesson that I have discovered the quality that young and middle-aged and old are benefited by it according to their respective capacities. An ignorant one gains something from it, and a learned one adds to his knowledge by listening to it. Of the great and numerous bounties enjoyed by those who have made Qadian their home, this lesson is one. May Allah preserve it for ever, so that we may continue to be the recipients of His blessings and mercies through it."[38]

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] often said that if God were to ask him what was it that he loved most, he would beg to be bestowed the Quran.

The present writer's father committed the Holy Quran to memory during the later years of his practice at the Bar. When he mentioned this to Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn, he was delighted and remarked, addressing those present: "So much does Nasrulla Khān love Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] that to win his love he has deposited in his memory that which Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] loves best, thus ensuring Nūr-ud-Dīn's[ra] love for himself."

Ḥāfiẓ Raushan 'Alī, one of his most outstanding pupils, has related:

"When I was learning to commit the Holy Quran to memory, at Wazīrabād, under the supervision of my maternal uncle Ḥāfiẓ Ghulām

> Rasūl, I saw one night in a dream that a person of venerable appearance gave me a cup filled with milk, and said: "Drink this." I drank the greater part of it, and he said: "Drink more." So I drank more. I did not comprehend the meaning of my dream at the time, but when I came to Qadian I realised that the venerable person I had seen in my dream was Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra]. Sometimes I sat with him through the night learning from him, but he was never bored.

Among those who attended his daily lesson of the Holy Quran were some who took copious notes and a selection of these was printed, but he himself never published a commentary. His reason was:

> "The Holy Quran is the Word of Allah; as Allah is Infinite, so is His Word. Therefore, we cannot confine its interpretation to certain defined conceptions. He went on to add: The Holy Quran being the Word of Allah, it could be expected that He should have expounded it Himself, but He did not; nor did the Holy Prophet[sa]. After him his immediate Successors could have done so, but did not. None of the four great Imams of Jurisprudence, Abū Ḥanīfah[rh], Mālik[rh], Shāfi'ī[rh] or Ahmad[rh] bin Ḥambal wrote a commentary on the Holy Quran, though the first of them was not far removed from the Holy Prophet[sa] and had met some of his companions. Of the Compilers of Hadith, Bukhārī[rh], Tirmidhī[rh] and Abū Dā'ūd[rh] were eminent personages, but not one of them wrote a commentary on the Holy Quran. Among the *Ṣūfīs* Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī[rh], Shāh Naqshband, Sayyid 'Abdul Qādir Jilānī[rh] and

others were great men who were endowed with esoteric as well as exoteric lore, yet they wrote no commentary. Shahābuddīn Suharawardī[rh] wrote a commentary but it contains nothing original.

"The Promised Messiah[as], who is commissioned to the service of the Holy Quran, has published no translation of, or commentary on, the Holy Quran. People have derived some benefit from the published translations of and commentaries on the Holy Quran, but most people are apt to treat them as the last word and relying on them stop thinking for themselves, which does great harm.

"I wrote a commentary and my friends insisted that it should be published. Then I reflected that those who came after me might think it was the last word and thus close upon themselves the door of the verities and wisdom of the Holy Quran. It is the Book of God, it furnishes the answer to the problems of every age and is a healing for the ills of the soul in all conditions. Its benefit should not be circumscribed. So I abandoned the attempt to confine the limitless ocean within a pitcher."[39]

His thirst for knowledge was unquenchable. He had built up a large library which contained many rare books in manuscript collected or copied from far and near. On one occasion he sent one of his disciples, Maulawī Ghulām Nabī, to Bhopal to make a copy of the commentary of *Shaukānī*, which was preserved in the library of Nūrul Ḥasan Khān, son of Nawab Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān. It was in six volumes, and it took Maulawī Ghulām Nabī a whole year to copy it.

On his return from Bhopal he was told to proceed to Egypt and make a copy of Imam Ibn Qayyam's[rh] book *Shifā'ul Alīl Fī Masā'ilil Qaḍā'i Wal Qadri Watta'līl* from the libraries of Al-Azhar University and the Government of Egypt. Its volume was about 800 pages and its copying kept Maulawī Ghulām Nabi occupied for eighteen months. Another book of which he made a copy was Imam Sayūṭī's *Hamaal Hawame Maahu Sharah Jamiul Jawameh*, extending over 700 pages.

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn's[ra] reading covered a very wide field. He had read the whole of Shakespeare in Arabic.

The present writer recalls having listened to a lecture by the late Mr. Justic Shāh Dīn, Judge of the Chief Court of the Punjab, delivered at Abbottabad on the topic of Education, in September, 1910, which he concluded with the observation: "On the basis of the criteria that I have set out before you, among my wide circle of friends and acquaintances, the only perfectly educated person is Maulawī Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] of Qadian."

The Nawab of Bahāwalpur fell ill in August 1894 and was advised by his spiritual preceptor, Khawāja Ghulām Farīd of Chachrāń, to send for Maulawī Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] from Qadian. The Nawab wrote to the Promised Messiah[as], requesting that Maulawī Sahib[ra] may be sent to Bahāwalpur for a few days to examine and treat him. He arrived and having done the needful so far as the Nawab was concerned, made ready to return to Qadian. Thereupon Khawāja Ghulām Farīd obtained the permission of the Promised Messiah[as], by telegram, for Maulawī Sahib[ra] to stay a little longer in Bahāwalpur. He told Maulawī Sahib[ra] that the real purpose of

sending for him had been to make his personal acquaintance and to listen to his exposition of the verities of the Holy Quran; the illness of the Nawab had provided the occasion. Now that he was in Bahāwalpur they were eager to learn something of the Holy Quran from him. Thus Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] started a course of lessons on the Holy Quran in Bahāwalpur. When the end of his period of stay approached, Khawāja Ghulām Farīd suggested to the Nawab that he should persuade him to settle permanently in Bahāwalpur. The Nawab made the approach, and though the prospect was utterly repugnant to him, in order to demonstrate the futility of his proposal, he asked the Nawab: "Were I to fall in with your plan, what arrangement would there be for my maintenance?"[40]

"I shall grant you sixty thousand acres of arable land."

"What shall I do with it?"

"You can develop it and become very wealthy."

"As I am at the moment, you come to me seeking advice and guidance. When I become very wealthy will you still come to me?"

"No. Of course not."

"Then, what do I gain?"

The Nawab had no concept of the hierarchy of values that regulated his life.[41]

In 1896 Nawab Muhammad 'Alī Khan[ra] wrote to the Promised Messiah[as] that he was eager to learn the Holy Quran and requested that he might depute Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] to go to Mālīr Kutla and teach him the Quran. On being directed by the Promised Messiah[as] he went to Mālīr Kutla and stayed there for

several months. He was at first lodged in town and then moved to Nawab Sahib's house in Shairwānī Kut. Nawab Sahib[ra] attended upon him daily for his lesson and took his midday meal with him. Some of his students from Qadian followed him to Shairwānī Kut. Nawab Sahib[ra] made all arrangements for lodging and feeding them. His study of the Holy Quran was completed in six months.[42]

There was at that time practising in Mālīr Kutla a doctor, Bhagat Rām Sahnī, who belonged to Bhera and had served in Kashmir. He held Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] in high esteem and visited him from time to time. One day he mentioned that he earned a thousand rupees a month without having to move out of Mālīr Kutla. Maulawī Sahib observed that he too had an equal amount of income without having to go anywhere.

Later, in the course of a letter addressed to Nawab Muhammad 'Alī Khān, he wrote:

> "Note carefully the verse of the Holy Quran: Allah will prepare a way out of his difficulties for him who is mindful of his duty to Allah, and will provide for him whence he expects not (65:3-4). This sinful one is not so mindful, though devoted to those who are so mindful, and yet Allah provides for him whence he expects not. During my stay in Mālīr Kutla I had to meet several demands, in conection with which I had to incur an expenditure of approximately two thousand five hundred rupees. You canot guess where most of it came from. God alone knows whence it came. Even my wife does not know."[43]

He himself did not seek to enter into a debate with anyone, but if he was so confronted that he was left no choice, he supplicated for help and enlightenment and was always guided aright. During one of his visits to Lahore a Hindu lawyer came to see him, having told his friends that he would confound Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] in a discussion on the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. His thesis was that the diversity of human conditions and circumstances, wealth and poverty, prosperity and adversity, high rank and obscurity, health and disease etc., could be accounted for only on the basis that a person's conduct in one cycle of existence determines his condition in the succeeding cycle, and that God is powerless in the matter. Before he could broach the topic Maulawī Sahib[as] took two silver rupees out of his pocket and placing them in front of the lawyer invited him to pick up one of them. The lawyer sat in silent contemplation of the coins and made no move whatever for nearly half an hour. Those present were puzzled by this silent drama and one of them enquired from the lawyer what hindered him from picking up one of the coins?

He answered: "I am on the horns of a dilemma. The moment I pick up one of the coins I may be asked the reason for preferring that one to the other. I would then be confronted with the problem that if I have the freedom to prefer one coin to another, has not God the freedom to produce the widest diversity in human conditions? For the moment I cannot think of an answer. I shall return after I have had time for further reflection."

He did not return.

A Western Christian apologist finding himself cornered over the doctrine of the Trinity sought a way

of escape by affirming somewhat contemptuously that the Asian mind was incapable of comprehending the mystery of the Trinity, and provoked the riposte: "Indeed! That explains it. That is why Jesus[as], Peter and Paul, all three Asians, did not comprehend it either!"

A Christian missionary presented a copy of his book *Quran Dispensable* to Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] and asked him to study it carefully. Its theme was that the Holy Quran was not the Word of God, but a symposium of doctrines and teachings in Arabic culled from earlier revealed books like *the Torah*, *the Gospel*, *the Vedas*, *the Zendavesta* etc. The author had selected a number of verses from the Holy Quran and had endeavoured to trace every one of them to one or other of those books. Maulawī Sahib did not take long to go through the book and returned it to the author with the following comments:

> "I am very grateful to you for giving me an opportunity of reading your book. Its perusal has still further strengthened my faith and re-inforced my conviction that the Holy Quran is truly the Word of God. The collection and study of various Scriptures in diverse languages like Sanskrit, Pehlevi, Hebrew, Aramaic, Pali etc., (it is said that a study of the Vedas alone needs forty years) and the collation of the verities comprised in them was surely beyond the capacity and resources of an unlettered Arab of the early seventh century of the Christian era. Besides, it is the Holy Quran alone that sets forth the philosophy of the grand verities, and establishes accord between reason and the law of nature. Before the Holy Quran kings and rulers imposed their religious views and

doctrines upon their peoples by compulsion; religious leaders did not permit any questioning of their exposition of religious problems; teachers of religion did not tolerate any freedom on the part of their pupils. The Holy Quran ushered in an era of intellectual freedom with exhortations like: Why do you not exercise your reason; why do you not reflect; why do they not deliberate upon the Quran?"[44]

An old philosopher who was fond of defining everything was in the habit of asking everyone to define something or the other. He would then analyse whatever he was told and expose its imperfections, and thus impress people with the vastness of his erudition. On one occasion he asked Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn: "What is wisdom?" He replied: "Wisdom is to eschew every type of vice, from associating partners with Allah down to the least unmannerliness." The philosopher was struck by the reply and enquired: "What is your authority for it?" Maulawī Sahib turned to a Ḥāfiẓ, who happened to be present, and said to him: Kindly recite and translate for the benefit of the philosopher sections 4 and 5 of Chapter Seventeen of the Holy Quran; which the Ḥāfiẓ did. The English rendering of the passage is as follows:

"Thy Lord has commanded that ye worship none but Him and has enjoined benevolence towards parents. Should either or both of them attain old age in thy lifetime, never say: Ugh to them nor chide them, but always speak gently to them. Be humbly tender with them and pray: Lord, have mercy on them, even as they nurtured me when I was little. Your Lord knows best that which is in your minds; if you will be righteous, then surely He is Most

Forgiving towards those who turn constantly to Him. Render to the kinsman his due and to the needy and the wayfarer, and squander not thy substance extravagantly, for the extravagant fall into evil company and misuse the bounties of their Lord. On occasions when thou must turn away from any of those who should be the objects of thy benevolence, while seeking thy Lord's mercy for which thou hopest, speak kindly to them. Do not hold back altogether out of miserliness and render thyself blameworthy, nor spend without restraint and exhaust thy substance, thus becoming thyself an object of charity. Thy Lord enlarges His provision for whom He wills, and straitens it for whom He wills. He is well aware of all that relates to His servants and sees it all.

Do not destroy your offspring for fear of poverty; it is We Who provide for them and for you. Surely, destroying them is a great sin. Do not even approach adultery; surely, it is a foul thing and an evil way. Do not destroy the life that Allah has declared sacred, except for just cause. The heir of one who is killed wrongfully has Our authority to demand retribution, but let him not transgress the prescribed limits in exacting retribution, for within the limits he is upheld by law. Do not approach the property of the orphan during his minority, except for the most beneficent purpose, and fulfil every covenant, for you will be called to account for it. Give full measure when you measure out, and weigh out with a true balance; that is best and most commendable in the end. Follow not that of which thou hast no knowledge, for the ear

and the eye and the heart shall all be called to account.

Do not tread haughtily upon the earth, for thou canst not thereby reach its confines, nor outstrip those who are of the highest ranks. The evil of all this is hateful in the sight of thy Lord.

This is of the wisdom that thy Lord has revealed to thee. Set not up with Allah any other God, lest thou be cast into hell, condemned and rejected (17:24-40)."

The philosopher was silenced for once!

XI

WISE COUNSELLOR

The Indian Mutiny of 1857, later called the Indian War of Independence, had left the Muslims of India wallowing helplessly in a trough of misery and despondency. The East India Company, virtual ruler of India, mistakenly held the Muslims largely responsible for the horrors of the Mutiny and was in a vengeful mood. The last and certainly the least of the Moghuls, who had been a pensioner of the Company, and was a mere puppet, wielding no authority of any kind, had been forced by the rebels to pretend sympathy with their cause. In the situation in which he found himself he had been left little choice. He paid heavily and tragically for his misfortune. He was deported to Burma and ended his miserable existence in Rangoon, where he was buried.

While in Delhi he had at least served the Muslims as a pitiful reminder of their past glory and helped maintain the illusion of a social and cultural rallying point. With his departure there was left nothing but the stark and tragic reality. Religion and culture were both in decline. The Muslim divines, by and large, were ignorant, reactionary and obscurantist.

With the assumption by the British crown of the administration of British India, things began to improve, slowly and hesitantly, but the Muslims continued severely handicapped and could derive no advantage from the improvement, such as it was. Under Lord Macaulay's advice English was adopted as

the medium for higher education in India. Unfortunately Muslim divines declared that the learning of English was contrary to Islam. This imposed a further handicap upon the Muslims, so that while non-Muslims took full advantage of the facilities that became available for higher education, the Muslims fell progressively behind. Incidentally, their lack of knowledge of English disqualified them from employment in Government offices and institutions, which were monopolised by non-Muslims.

Total lack of enlightened leadership was the most serious privation of the Muslims. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān, who later became known familiarly and affectionately as Sir Sayyid, having diagnosed modern education as the most urgent need of the Muslims, dedicated himself to filling that need as far as he could. He gathered round him a band of equally devoted colleagues, who were inspired by the same ideals as himself, and established a college of higher education at 'Alīgarh which he named Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College. It attracted students from all over India and became the premier Muslim educational institution in the country. It was affiliated to the University of Alahābād and later was itself chartered as the Muslim University of 'Alīgarh. The stimulus thus provided by Sir Sayyid spread to other parts of the country also and Muslim students began to resort eagerly to local institutions of higher education.

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīnra appreciated Sir Sayyid's devoted efforts in the cause of Muslim education, and contributed generously towards them. On his side Sir Sayyid held him in high esteem and greatly valued his co-operation. Sir Sayyid was asked: "When an illiterate

person acquires proficiency in reading and writing he becomes known as an educated person; when he advances further in the acquisition of knowledge he becomes a philosopher; when he masters moral and spiritual values he becomes a Ṣūfī (mystic); what does a Ṣūfī become when he rises higher?" Sir Sayyid wrote back: "He becomes Nūr-ud-Dīn."[45]

Maulawī 'Ināyatur Rasūl Chiryākutī was a learned divine who was proficient in Hebrew and Greek and had made a deep study of Jewish and Christian Scriptures. He suggested to Sir Sayyid that for the comparative study of the Torah and the Holy Quran, a commentary on the Torah from the Islamic point of view was called for and offered to compile one. Sir Sayyid approved of the project and wrote to Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] soliciting his cooperation in carrying it into effect. He readily agreed, but unfortunately Maulawī 'Ināyatur Rasūl was, for some reason, unable to initiate the project and the matter went no further.

Sir Sayyid was somewhat of a free-thinker. He held that supplication for the achievement of a concrete purpose was only a type of worship and a spiritual exercise which did not contribute towards the achievement of the specific purpose the supplicant had in mind. He also did not believe in the possibility of verbal revelation. According to him that which was described as verbal revelation was no more than inspired thinking. The Promised Messiah[as], at the suggestion of Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn, refuted both these notions as erroneous in his booklet *Barakātud Du'ā*, wherein he observed that by propounding these ideas Sir Sayyid had in effect sought to disrupt altogether the relationship between the Creator and His creatures. He offered to demonstrate the acceptance of

prayer to Sir Sayyid. He invited his attention to his prophecy concerning Pandit Laikhrām, which was based on prayer. Its fulfilment would demonstrate both acceptance of prayer and the fact of verbal revelation. He also cited his own experiences of both. He sent a copy of *Barakātud Du'ā* and of his book *Izāla'i Auhām* to Sir Sayyid, who wrote back thanking him and requested his prayers for himself.

Towards the end of his life Sir Sayyid was deeply distressed by the disloyalty and dishonesty of a non-Muslim employee who betrayed his trust and embezzled a large sum of money which Sir Sayyid had collected for the promotion of his beneficent projects. The shock, according to his son, Mr. Justic Maḥmūd, Judge of the Alahābad High Court, probably hastened his end. Before his death he wrote to Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] that he felt that nothing could be achieved without prayer.

The Great Conference of Religions, which had been organised by a number of representative non-Muslims, was held in Lahore on December 26-29, 1896. Five questions were proposed for discussion. The Promised Messiah[as] was also invited to read a paper on them. He did not attend himself but wrote a paper which was read at the Conference by Maulawī 'Abdul Karīm[ra]. Among the six moderators of the Conference was Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra]. He was asked to preside over the Conference on the second day. He opened the session with the following observations:

> "If God's mercy, and His grace, and His providence which comprehends all, and His particular beneficence that is bestowed on His chosen servants, were not to uphold man, he would cease to exist. Of His favours that He has bestowed upon us in this age are the diverse

means of acquiring knowledge and the vast treasures of knowledge that have been made available. The plentiful supply of paper, the multiplicity of printing presses, the organisation of post offices whereby we can transmit our thoughts to distant lands at little cost, the telegraph system, railways, steamships and other means of transportation are all divine bounties. If man does not employ these bounties beneficently and misuses them, he will be called to account for them and suffer chastisement. If he uses them beneficently they will be multiplied unto him. In my younger days books were obtained with difficulty; those who possessed them were reluctant to lend them. Latterly the finest publications of Constantinople, Egypt, Tripoli, Tunisia and Morocco have become easily available without any trouble. It is thus incumbent upon every one to derive the utmost benefit, in this time of peace, from these divine bounties.

The need of religion is emphasised by the consideration that human life demands regulation. The purpose of law is to safeguard human rights. Public law suffers from the limitation that it can only punish offences once they have been committed; it has no power to eradicate their causes. For instance, it is possible for law to punish rape; but it is beyond the province of law to put down evil desires, or exclude vicious companions, or control the roving eye which incite a person to commit that offence. It is religion that restrains us from all this. It resents evil. In the eye of religion a virtuous one and a vicious one are not alike. They are not equal in respect of their beliefs and

their conduct; nor do their actions produce similar results. It is religion alone which restrains a person from committing, by declaring it unlawful, that which is beyond the province of law. There are some vices which are condemned both by reason and by public sentiment, and Government as well as society consider them immoral, but neither Government nor society have the power to eradicate them compulsorily, like the consumption of liquor or misconduct between consenting parties. It is only religion that can help stamp out such vices, not only by condemning them, but by restraining and controlling the trend of thinking and fancies that incite such vices. Thus as man, a social animal, is in need of a law, that law which completely fulfils its purpose is the divine law of religion. It is only that law which has the power and which exercises such control over human tendencies and inclinations as is not possessed by any law framed by the most absolute and dictatorial government.

Therefore, the study of religion should be our primary concern, not only for the purpose of safeguarding public law which is directed towards ensuring peace and orderliness, but also for securing ourselves against every other type of ill. We should consider how best to provide for this need. Now that God has furnished us with a wide diversity of means and facilities to aid us in this enterprise, it would be ingratitude on our part if we were not to take advantage of them to reflect upon the laws and rules of conduct which, under divine direction, religion has promulgated and to which it has

subordinated our conduct. Therefore it is incumbent upon us to be watchful of religion. This is the purpose of this conference."[46]

The last item for that day's session was the reading of the Promised Messiah's[as] paper which was later published as *The Philosophy of the Teachings of Islam*. He had announced in advance that he had been divinely assured that his paper would be acclaimed as far superior to all the other papers that might be presented at the Conference. From the very beginning it was listened to with rapt attention. By the end of the session the reading of the answer to the first of the five questions that had been set as the theme of the Conference could alone be completed and the audience that had listened spell-bound to every word insisted that the Conference be prolonged for another day beyond the three days which had been originally fixed for it, so that the reading of the entire paper could be completed. Thereupon the Executive Committee of the Conference, supported by the Moderators, obtained the permission of the *Anjuman Ḥimāyat-e-Islām* for the use of the premises for an additional day, and requested the President of the session to make the necessary announcement. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] closed the session with these words:

"My friends, you have heard the answer of Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] to the first question. We are all deeply grateful to Maulawī 'Abdul Karīm Sahib for his excellent reading of it. I now convey to you the good news that in view of the eagerness and interest that you have exhibited in the paper while listening to it, and on the special recommendation of the Moderators and distinguished members of the audience, the

Executive Committee has decided to extend the Conference for another day so that the reading of Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib's entire paper may be completed."[47]

The rest of the paper was read on 29th December.

At the end of the Conference the Executive Committee requested the moderators to make some observations. In compliance with this request Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] affirmed:

"I bear witness that there is no god save Allah, One without associate, and I bear witness that Muhammad[sa] is His servant and Messenger; and recited:

Proclaim: I seek the protection of the Lord of mankind, the King of mankind, the God of mankind, against the mischief of every sneaking whisperer, who whispers into the minds of people, whether he be hidden from sight or be one of the common people (114:2-7); and made a brief address which may be summarised as follows.

The Holy Prophet[sa] made the affirmation that he was a servant of Allah an inseparable part of the credo, so that the Muslims should always keep it in mind, while testifying to the Unity of God, and should not fall into the error of associating any partner with God.

The three attributes of God set out in the verses that I have recited, namely, Lord of mankind, King of mankind, God of mankind, have relevance to the physical, moral and spiritual conditions of man. The Being who

nurtures and sustains the body, the faculties and the soul of man has been named the Lord (*Rabb*) of mankind; He who calls man to account for his physical, moral and spiritual beliefs, pronouncements and actions has been named the King of mankind and He Who is the true goal and purpose and desired One of man has been named God of mankind.

Thus Allah, reminding man that as He is the Lord, the King and the true goal, and purpose and Beloved, admonishes him that being His servant he should seek the protection of the Perfect and Holy Being in all matters of provision, and governance and love, as Lord of mankind, King of mankind and God of mankind, against the whispers of every sneaking whisperer, whoever he may be.

You have, in the course of the last four days, listened to several discourses of diverse types. Some of them must have been based upon truth and founded upon righteousness, and some may have been full of falsehood, imposture and deceit. Therefore, in pursuance of this admonition of the Holy Quran you should seek the protection of the Lord of mankind, the King of mankind, the God of mankind against such mistakes and doubts as may be incited by the discourse or appearance of a mischievous whisperer. Such doubts and misgivings are like a tiresome dog who is ever ready to bite. As, in order to safeguard ourselves against the mischief of such an animal, we have to seek the protection of its master, for if its master were willing to safeguard us and were to reprove it sharply, it

would not dare harm anyone, so the safeguarding of man against the onslaught of satanic doubts must also be through seeking the protection of One Who is the Lord and King and True Beloved of the whole of creation."[48]

The Philosophy of the Teachings of Islam had a tremendous impact on circles interested in the comparative study of religion, and has become a classic.

In 1897 a young man, ʻAbdul Ḥamīd, came to Qadian and met Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra], describing himself as a nephew of Maulawī Burhānuddīn[ra] of Jhelum, a highly respected member of the Ahmadiyya Movement. He was graciously received and was hospitably entertained. He represented that he believed in the Promised Messiah[as] and was eager to take the pledge of allegiance to him; but the Promised Messiah[as] felt that he lacked sincerity and declined to accept his pledge. He was disgruntled and left for Batāla where he met several Christian missionaries, who passed him onto Dr. Henry Martyn Clarke of Amritsar, who was a bitter enemy of the Promised Messiah[as]. The reverend gentleman persuaded him to make a statement on oath before the District Magistrate of Amritsar to the effect that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad[as] had sent him to Amritsar to kill Dr. Clarke by rolling a heavy stone on to him unawares. The District Magistrate of Amritsar forwarded the sworn statement of ʻAbdul Ḥamīd for proper action to the District Magistrate of Gurdaspur, Captain W. Douglas, who summoned the parties to Batāla for 10th August for the recording of the statements of the witnesses, of whom Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was one. He made his statement in a simple straightforward manner which impressed the District Magistrate. He was also deeply

affected by the patriarchal appearance of the revered personage, and after the witness had withdrawn remarked to his reader: "If that man were to say that he is the Promised Messiah[as], I would have to consider his claim very seriously."

Another witness examined the same day was Maulawī Muhammad Ḥusain of Batāla whose virulent hostility to the Promised Messiah[as] was well known. His persistence in making patently false statements under cross-examination compelled the District Magistrate to record a note to that effect, which made his testimony worthless. When he went out of the court room, everyone whom he approached drew away from him in disgust, so that he could not even find a place where to sit. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra], having observed his extreme humiliation, took pity on him, went up to him and taking him by the arm said to him: "Maulawī Sahib come and sit with us".

At a subsequent hearing ʻAbdul Ḥamīd broke down and confessed that his first statement was false and had been made at the instigation of Dr. Clarke and some of his colleagues. The Promised Messiah[as] was honourably discharged, and though the District Magistrate offered to grant him leave for the prosecution of the principal witnesses against him for perjury and malicious prosecution, he declined to avail himself of the offer, remarking: "My case is pending in heaven, I have no wish to spend my time in chasing my opponents before earthly judges!"

More than a quarter of a century later, long after Captain Douglas had retired from service and was settled in London, the present writer called on him to gather from him his impression of the Promised Messiah[as]. He was in excellent health and was in very good shape. They had a long talk. The sum of what he

said was: "The moment Mirzā Sahib entered my court room and I looked at him I realised that he was not of this world. His soul seemed to be in communion with the Divine. Though he was accused of a grave offence, I could see that he was not capable of any such thing. I gave him a chair and asked him to sit on the dais. I was impressed by his nobility and magnanimity. I was convinced of the truth of his claim that he was a Prophet, and because of it I have believed ever since that Muhammad[sa] was a true Messenger of Allah."

It is noteworthy that some years after his scandalous behaviour in the case, ‘Abdul Ḥamīd repented sincerely of the grave wrong he had committed and joined the Ahmadiyya Movement.

One Sa‘dullāh of Ludhiana, who was a convert to Islam from Hinduism, had conceived bitter hostility towards the Promised Messiah[as], to which he gave expression in foul language. He predicted that the Promised Messiah[as] would die without issue and the Movement founded by him would peter out after his death. In answer to him the Promised Messiah[as] announced that he had been vouchsafed the revelation that Sa‘dullāh himself would remain issueless. In the years that followed, the Promised Messiah[as] was blessed with additions to his progeny but Sa‘dullāh was left only with the one son who was in his early youth at the time of the revelation vouchsafed to the Promised Messiah[as].

Towards the end of 1906, the Promised Messiah[as] set out his prophecy concerning Sa‘dullāh, among numerous other signs and prophecies in a book he was writing, and emphasised that neither Sa‘dullāh nor his son, who was now in his late twenties, would have issue. A well-known lawyer, who was a prominent member of the Ahmadiyya

Movement, sought to dissuade the Promised Messiah[as] from publishing this particular prophecy, as he was apprehensive that on its publication Sa'dullāh or his son or both of them might prosecute him for criminal libel. In answer to him the Promised Messiah[as] observed:

> "I consider the right course is to uphold the word of God; its suppression would be sinful and unworthy. No one other than God can do me any harm. In the face of the word of God, I have no fear of any harm on the part of the administration. I shall, of course, supplicate Allah, the Exalted, Who is the source of all beneficence and grace, that He may safeguard me against all harm and affliction. If, however, I am destined to suffer in this manner, I am content."

Then raising his voice he added: "I affirm on oath in the name of Allah, the Mighty, that He will not let this wicked man prevail against me, and will safeguard this servant of His, who is seeking His protection, against his mischief by afflicting him in some manner."

On hearing this Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] stood up and declared:

"Thus will it be: for the Holy Prophet[sa] has said: Often does it happen that when one with touseled hair and dust-covered face makes an affirmation in the name of God, He justifies him."[49]

Thereafter the Promised Messiah[as] continued his supplication and within two or three days was vouchsafed revelation in the words of the Hadith to which reference had been made by Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra]. A few days later Sa'dullāh died of plague on

January 3, 1907. His son survived him for nearly half a century, and though he married twice he left no issue. That ended the line of Sa'dullāh.

The partition of Bengal was carried out in the early years of the twentieth century during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. This administrative measure was construed by the Hindus as designed to undermine their position of dominance in Bengal and to strengthen the Muslims in East Bengal, and was bitterly resented by them. Their agitation against it became widespread throughout the country and assumed dangerous proportions. It became a serious menace to the maintenance of law and order in several regions. In May 1907, the Promised Messiah[as] made a public announcement admonishing the members of his Movement against participation in the agitation. In pursuance of the purpose of the announcement a public meeting was held in Qadian which was also addressed by Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra]. Stressing the importance of upholding law and order he observed:

> "The greatest beneficiaries of the British administration of the country have been the Hindus. They are dominant everywhere. Every year property worth tens of millions passes out of the ownership of the Muslims into the hands of the Hindus. All superior posts in the administration are occupied by Hindus, the Muslims being relegated to minor jobs. In this situation the Hindus should have been the most grateful and most loyal sections of the population. But unfortunately they have proved themselves most ungrateful. Yet this is not surprising. They are given to associating partners with God. He who turns away from his real Beneficent Creator and bows before a stone

idol cannot be expected to be grateful to a human benefactor."[50]

On February 11, 1906, the Promised Messiah[as] received a revelation:

"There will be consolation concerning the order that had been made relating to Bengal. "

It was published immediately and was ridiculed and scoffed at by his opponents, but it was strikingly fulfilled in 1911, when the cancellation of the partition of Bengal was announced on the occasion of the Coronation Durbar of King George V held in Delhi.

In June 1907, someone wrote to Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] raising certain queries:

1. Have those who do not believe in the Promised Messiah[as] the same status as that of those who do not believe in the Holy Prophet[sa]?
2. How should the Hadith: 'There is no Prophet after me;' be construed?
3. If a Prophet can arise in Islam why were Abū Bakr and others not Prophets?

He wrote back in reply:

1. The Holy Quran says: "Of the Messengers some have We exalted above others (2:254)." If there is not equality of status between Messengers, there would not be such equality of status as you have in mind between those who do not believe in them. You may reflect that he who disbelieves in the Messiah of the *Khātamal Ambiyā'* is guilty of greater wrong than one who disbelieves in the Messiah of Moses.

   The Holy Quran affirms that the believers make no distinction between the Messengers of

Allah in respect of believing in them (2:286). You are seeking to make a distinction between those who do not believe in a law-bearing Prophet and those who do not believe in a non-law-bearing one. I do not appreciate the reason for the distinction.

We have been persuaded to believe in the Promised Messiah[as] by the same process of reasoning as the one whereby we are persuaded to believe in the Holy Quran. To reject the reasoning would be tantamount to rejecting Islam. Do reflect on: When it is said to them: Believe ye in that which Allah has sent down; they retort: We do believe in that which has been sent down to us; and saying that they reject that which has been sent down after that: yet it has been proved to be the truth by fulfilling that which is with them (2:92). Why does not parity of reasoning entail the same result in both cases?

2. The Holy Prophet[sa] has described the Messiah who was to come as a Prophet of Allah. The Promised Messiah[as] has been so addressed in the revelations vouchsafed to him by Allah.

   The *Ahādīth* make a distinction between the general and the particular. Consider the following which are examples of the general, which do not exclude the particular: "He who lacks integrity lacks faith, and he who fails in his promise lacks religion; *Ṣalāt* is not performed without recitation of the *Fātiḥah*; there can be no marriage without the consent of the guardian; there is no room for envy except in respect of two persons.

Then in the Holy Quran the Holy Prophet[sa] is called *Khātamun Nabīyyīn* (Seal of the Prophets) and not *Khātimun Nabīyyīn* (the last of the Prophets). The Holy Quran affirms that the Jews were after slaying the Prophets. Does this mean all Prophets, or some of them?

3. Abū Bakr[ra] was not called a Prophet by God, and the Promised Messiah[as] has been so called.[51]

The Wachchhuwālī branch of the Ārya Samāj in Lahore arranged an inter-religious meeting to be held on December 2, 3 and 4 in which papers would be read on Characteristics of a Revealed Book. The Promised Messiah[as] was requested to contribute a paper. Having in mind the aggressiveness of the Ārya Samāj, he was somewhat apprehensive, but on being assured by the organisers that due reverence would be paid to the Founders of all religions, and nothing would be said that might have a tendency to offend religious susceptibilities, he agreed to contribute a paper. His paper was read at the meeting, the first half by Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] and the second half by Dr. Mirzā Ya'qūb Baig, from 6 to 10 pm on December 3.

Towards the end of the paper the Promised Messiah[as] had set out the text of a number of revelations vouchsafed to him in Arabic. Maulawī Sahib was requested to furnish their translation in Urdu. Out of his deep respect for his master and the high esteem in which he held him, he remarked:

> "As the recipient of the revelations has not chosen to furnish a translation of them, I feel it is not for me to give a translation. Yet, as the audience feel that it would be helpful if I were to give a translation, I proceed to do so on

> the clear understanding that my translation can only set forth my individual comprehension of the revelations, which is not binding on their recipient. He alone is entitled to furnish their true import."[52]

The representative of the Ārya Samāj read his paper on 4th December, in which he shamelessly reviled Islam and its Holy Founder[sa]. It was a cruel and heartless performance which shocked and outraged not only the Muslims but all decent sections of the audience. The President of the session subsequently expressed his regret that such a paper should have been read at the meeting, and affirmed that if he had known of its contents in advance he would not have permitted its reading, but he had made no effort to rebuke or restrain the speaker while the paper was being read, and the mischief had been done.

When the delegation from Qadian returned home and the Promised Messiah[as] was given a report of the proceedings, his indignation was extreme. He rebuked the members of the delegation sharply and repeatedly for not withdrawing from the meeting the moment they had sensed the trend of the Arya speaker's paper. He reminded them of the injunction of the Holy Quran:

> "He has laid upon you a commandment in the Book that when you hear the Signs of Allah being denied and mocked at, do not continue in that company, until they engage in some other discourse, otherwise you would be like them (4:141)."

It was only after abject entreaties that his wrath was appeased somewhat and he forgave them their

grave default. Yet he appreciated their commendable spirit of restraint in a most difficult and provoking situation. He wrote subsequently:

> "If pious Muslims had not kept in mind the demands of their culture, and had not remained steadfast under grave provocation, according to the teaching of the Holy Quran, and had not suppressed their wrath, without a doubt the meeting would have ended in a holocaust in consequence of the grave incitement offered by ill-natured people. The members of my community who were involved deserve a thousand commendations that they set an excellent example of self-restraint, and hearing the searing phrases of the Aryas which were sharper than bullets, they uttered not a word. Had I not prepared my community through repeated and persistent admonitions that they must always remain steadfast under the vilest abuse, the meeting would have been drenched in blood. It was my teaching that enabled them to control their wrath."[53]

Sardar Mihar Singh, a young man belonging to a respectable Sikh family, became a Muslim and joined the Ahmadiyya Movement. His family disowned him and turned against him. He took the name 'Abdur Raḥmān. Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] helped him with his studies and looked after him. From the beginning he gave proof of his sincerity, zeal and earnestness, and Maulawī Sahib was well pleased with him. Khalīfa Nūr-ud-Dīn of Jammu, a Ghaurī Pathan and a good friend of Maulawī Sahib[ra] since his Jammu days, sought his advice concerning a suitable match for his daughter. He suggested young 'Abdur Raḥmān. On learning his particulars the parents of the girl

submitted to Maulawī Sahib[ra] that the young man was sincere and pious but had no family and no prospects. All he had was a mat, an ewer, a cot and his modest stipend as a teacher. How would he support a wife? His response was characteristic: "If your daughter is blessed with good fortune she will fill an empty house, but if she is bereft of good fortune she will make a full house empty."

The parents took his admonition to heart, the young lady was willing and the match went through. It proved happy and blessed in every respect. The numerous progeny of the couple bear testimony to it.

Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was anxious that those who came to Qadian should derive full benefit from their proximity to the revered and exalted Holy Founder of the Movement[as]. In one of his sermons he made the exhortation:

> "What was my purpose in coming here? I have a well-built house in Bhera, and every convenience and comfort was available to me there. Here I live modestly in a sun-baked brick house, and have dispensed with all comfort, Why? Because I found that I was sick, very sick, that I was indigent, very indigent; that I was afflicted, severely afflicted. So I came here seeking a remedy for all my ills. If any one comes here to watch me and learn from my example, or to find fault with those of us who have settled here, he is greatly mistaken. He deceives himself in that deeming the sick ones as whole, he passes judgment on them. All friendships and relationships here, all coming here, and departing from here, and settling here and living here should be subordinated to and become illustrative of: There is no God except

Allah. If that is not the purpose in coming here, why come here? You have better food and more comfort at home than you will find here. Your coming here will be justified only if in all that you do your purpose is to win the pleasure of Allah."[54]

XII

KHALĪFATUL MASĪḤ

After obtaining permission from the Promised Messiah[as], Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] drew up a statement on March 19, 1908, entitled: Request Submitted to Friends and Brethren, which ran as follows:

> "In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Ever Merciful.
>
> We praise Him and call down His blessings on His Noble Messenger.
>
> Peace be on you, and the mercy of Allah and His blessings. One night I fell into reflecting on my own age and the much longer expanse of the Muslim era and was greatly disturbed by contemplating that which needs to be done before life comes to its end. The current of my thoughts leaned towards the significance of the supplications that are made in the sitting posture in the *Ṣalāt*, and arrived at the story of the parrot set out by Maulānā Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī in his *Mathnawī*, the point of which is that a parrot owned by a merchant charged its master to convey its greetings to its fellow parrots in India when he should happen to pass by them. Its purpose was to seek their guidance on how it could obtain its freedom. They sent back word that the road to freedom ran through the valley of death.
>
> This line of thinking led me to the parrots of Allah, that is to say, to the souls of the

martyrs in the cause of Allah, and I reflected on the supplications made in the sitting posture of the *Ṣalāt*: Peace be upon thee, Great Prophet[sa], and the mercy of Allah and His blessings; and: Peace be upon us and upon all righteous servants of Allah: and in my mood of eagerness I made a bargain with Allah, as He has said: Allah has purchased of the believers their persons and their belongings in return for the promise that He will admit them to the Garden of His pleasure (9:111). In this verse Allah describes Himself as a purchaser, a merchant. A believer having committed himself wholly to Allah, he must take care that he should not spend his life nor his belongings without a licence from Allah. In pursuance of this purpose, I became diligent in calling down peace and blessings of Allah upon the Holy Prophet[sa].

Then it occurred to me that I should make a large number of friends, for whom I should appoint a distinctive emblem, so that we might glorify Allah much and remember Him much. So Allah be praised that in accord with my limited intelligence and dealings I made friends from among the members of the Ahmadiyya Community—which is a community that abhors association of partners with Allah and making innovations in the faith and believes sincerely in: There is no God except Allah and Muhammad[sa] is His Messenger; and by conforming to the practice of the Holy Prophet[sa] qualifies as Sunni and owing allegiance to an Imam[as] must be deemed to be a *Jamā'at*—those who are men of good will,

steadfast, tolerant and have faith in prayer. In all this my purpose was:

1. That they should be my witnesses on earth for the sake of Allah, testifying to my faith; for the Holy Prophet[sa] has said that one who is supported by the good testimony of a body of the righteous would be deemed worthy of admission to the Garden of Allah's pleasure; he who is accounted unworthy by them will be condemned to hell. By the testimony of these witnesses on earth for the sake of Allah, I would receive from Allah that which He pleases.

2. That through our association together we may be able to cooperate in promoting virtue and righteousness, and become friends and helpers.

3. There are certain special bounties of God that follow only upon group accord and unity. In view of this a group of friends may be organised so that God's special grace may be attracted whereby Allah may be pleased with us, and may make us true servants of Islam and the Muslims.

4. The Holy Prophet[sa] is reported to have said: On the Day of Judgment seven types of people will be given shelter by Allah, when no other shelter will be available. One of these types will be two friends who love each other for the sake of Allah, meet for His sake and part for His sake. So I desired that we should be such a group and as such, should find prosperity under the shelter of the Great Throne of God, which shelter can be experienced both here and hereafter.

5. Some means may be found of spreading proficiency in Arabic generally among all Muslims and particularly among members of the Ahmadiyya Movement, for this is the only means whereby Muslims in all regions of the earth can promote unity and accord between themselves. Besides, understanding of the Holy Quran and Hadith depends upon proficiency in Arabic. We should make a special effort in this behalf and discover a means of achieving this purpose, as, for instance, a means of traversing the earth has been found through the railway.
6. Wherever there should be disagreement or ill-will between members of the Ahmadiyya Movement, these friends should become a means of restoring accord and goodwill, as Allah has said: Bring about accord between yourselves (8:2); make peace between your brethren (49:11); and: Peace is best (4:129).
7. They should have recourse to prayer in all circumstances, whether of ease or of hardship.

But it is a measure of the apathy of Muslims that even those in Qadian have been somewhat indifferent. I had prepared answers to queries concerning this project and had sent out copies of them, but I have received comments on them only from Sialkot and Peshawar. There has been no response from Lahore. In addition I have written to the Muslim intelligentsia of distant lands for advice on the means of promoting the learning of Arabic and stimulating interest in the propagation of Islamic values. I have also suggested the publishing of small tracts in support of the teachings of Islam, and in refutation of the

criticism advanced by non-Muslims, whereby we might discharge to some degree the obligation of enjoining good and forbidding evil, and our friends may be warned of the grave harm resulting from ill-thinking."[55]

This project was published in *Al-Ḥakam*, *Badr* and *Tashḥīdhul Adhhān*, and Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīnra had 1400 cards printed in which its purpose was briefly set out. He had intended that once he had procured the adherence of 1400 friends to the project, the Promised Messiahas would be approached with the request to pray specially for the achievement of the purposes of the project, but events moved forward too rapidly to permit of this.

Ḥaḍrat Ummul Mu'minīn had been ailing and suggested to the Promised Messiahas that they might go to Lahore for her to obtain competent medical advice. He was somewhat hesitant, as he had lately received warnings through revelations vouchsafed to him, of the imminent approach of his end. Towards the end of 1905, having been similarly warned that only a short span, two or three years, of his life was left, he had published his Testamentary Direction, offering his community the consolation that after his departure God would help them with the Second Manifestation of His Power, as had happened at the death of the Holy Prophetsa, when God had raised Abū Bakrra to rally the Muslims, who took effective measures to safeguard them against grave perils that confronted them in every direction. He also instituted the *Ṣadr Anjuman Aḥmadiyya* (the Central Aḥmadiyya Association) for the purpose of regulating the administrative affairs of the Community, and appointed Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīnra its President.

Now before his departure for Lahore he occupied himself with supplications seeking guidance in respect of his contemplated journey, and requested his friends to help him with their prayers. He told his elder daughter, Nawab Mubāraka Begum, that he had to make an important decision and would appreciate her helping him with her prayers. Next day she told him that she had prayed earnestly and had seen in her dream Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] seated in an upper room holding a book in his hand. He said to her: This book contains revelations received by Ḥaḍrat Sahib[as] concerning me. I am Abū Bakr[ra].

The Promised Messiah[as] told her not to mention her dream to her mother, and made preparations to proceed on his journey to Lahore. The party left Qadian on 27th April, 1908, and stopping in Batāla for a couple of days, arrived in Lahore on 29th April. The Promised Messiah[as] took up his residence in Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn's house in Ahmadiyya Buildings, on Brandreth Road, but after a few days moved into the adjoining house of Dr. Sayyid Muhammad Ḥusain in the same building. As his stay in Lahore became somewhat prolonged he sent for Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] and certain other divines from Qadian.

On 17th May, a number of prominent Muslims were invited to meet the Promised Messiah[as] at lunch, and he delivered an address to them expounding the basis and nature of his claim, and seeking to remove misunderstandings concerning it. He was listened to with deep interest, and some of those present urged him to deliver a public address in Lahore, so that the general public could derive benefit from his wisdom. In pursuance of this suggestion he started writing an address which he called *Paighām-e-Ṣulḥ* (Message of

Peace) in which he outlined a scheme for promoting accord between Hindus and Muslims. In the meantime the admonitory revelations followed one another with mounting urgency, but he continued with his task in perfect serenity. He finished writing his address by the late afternoon of 25th May and then went out for a short drive.

Returning from the drive he attended the combined sunset and evening services, took a light meal, and as he was feeling somewhat exhausted went early to bed. At about midnight he had two motions with a short interval, which rendered him very weak and he asked for Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] to be called from next door, who came immediately and along with Dr. Sayyid Muhammad Ḥusain and Mirzā Ya'qūb Baig tried everything they could think of but without avail. Their august patient had another motion and his condition deteriorated rapidly. He performed the dawn Prayer in semi-unconsciousness and then seemed to pass into coma. He was occasionally heard to whisper: Allah, my beloved Allah. By 10 a.m. he became completely unconscious, breathing heavily; and at 10:30 stopped breathing. His sacred remains were transported to Qadian, where they reached at 8 a.m. on 27th May. They were placed in his garden house where during the greater part of the day his devoted followers, as they arrived from near and far, had the opportunity of beholding for the last time the serene countenance of their holy and dearly loved master.

The news of the death of the Promised Messiah[as] struck the members of the Movement with shattering poignancy. They were bewildered and in the hour of their utter bereavement had recourse to humble and earnest supplications for guidance. Perhaps the most deeply affected was Maulawī Nūr-

ud-Dīn[ra] who gave expression to his deep sense of loss repeatedly in the exclamation: After Ḥaḍrat's death the universe seems lifeless.

What to do? Which way to turn?

Leading members, including the members of the *Ṣadr Anjuman Aḥmadiyya*, gathered together in the house of Nawab Muhammad 'Alī Khān, son-in-law of the Promised Messiah[as]; while the main body, converging on Qadian from all directions, waited upon events in the large garden, next to the house in which the body of the great and revered leader had been placed. The gathering in the town was adjured by Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn in very moving terms to the effect: "A man appeared on earth as the Herald of God and summoned people in His name. We responded to his call and gathered round him. Now he has departed from us and returned to God. What is there for us to do in this situation?"

His audience was stunned; there was complete silence. After a few moments, Shaikh Raḥmatullāh, a member of the *Ṣadr Anjuman* stood up, and in accents charged with emotion said: "During the journey from Lahore to Qadian I have repeatedly said to myself and now say it to you, we must beg our revered old man (meaning Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra]) to take the lead. Without him we shall be lost." To this no one raised any objection and it was assumed that his suggestion was welcomed by every one present. Among them was Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Aḥmad[ra], who, on being approached, expressed his ready concurrence; and so did Mīr Nāṣir Nawab[ra], father-in-law of the Promised Messiah[as], who was then in the garden. Thereafter Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn was requested to wait on Ḥaḍrat Ummul Mu'minīn and ascertain her view. She said that Maulawī Nūr-ud-

Dīnra was the most honoured person in the community and should be *Khalīfa.*

A brief statement was accordingly drawn up and those present went with it to Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Sahibra and presented it to him. He received it in silence and intimated that he would give a reply after he had supplicated for guidance. He washed and stood up in prayer. When he finished, he said: Let us all go where the holy remains of our master are, and our brethren are awaiting us. Arrived in the garden, Muftī Muhammad Ṣādiq, in accordance with the wishes of all present, read out the following request:

> "In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Ever Merciful.
>
> We praise Him and call down His blessings on His Noble Messengersa. All praise is due to Allah, Lord of the worlds, and blessings and peace be upon the *Khātamun Nabīyyīn*, Muhammadsa, the chosen one, and upon the Promised Messiahas, the *Khātamul Auliyā'*.
>
> According to the command of the Promised Messiahas set out in *Al-Waṣīyyat* (Testamentary Direction), we *Aḥmadīs*, whose signatures are appended below, are sincerely convinced that all present and future members of the Ahmadiyya Community should take the pledge of spiritual allegiance, in the name of Aḥmadas, to the First Emigrant Ḥaḍrat Haji Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīnra, who is the most learned and most virtuous of us all and is the most devoted and oldest friend of Ḥaḍrat Imamas who held him up as an excellent example, as he said:

How good would it be if every member of the community were a Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra];

So would it be if every heart were filled with the light of the certainty of faith.

Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Sahib's orders will be as binding upon us, as were the orders of the Holy Ḥaḍrat, the Promised Messiah and Mahdi[as]."[56]

In reply Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Sahib observed:

"Look at my past life. I have never coveted leadership. I know myself well, and my Lord knows me even better. I desire nothing of the world. All I desire is that my Master may be pleased with me. For this I pray, and for this have I resided and will continue to reside at Qadian. I have for some time reflected on what shall be our situation after Ḥaḍrat Sahib[as]. That is why I have striven that Mīyāń Maḥmūd's education may be pushed forward.

There are three likely persons among the close relatives of Ḥaḍrat Sahib[as]. There is Mīyāń Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra], who is both my brother and my son. I have a special relationship with him. Then Mīr Nasir Nawab[ra], being Ḥaḍrat Sahib's[as] father-in-law, is entitled to his respect and our respect. The third one is his son-in-law, Nawab Muhammad 'Alī Khān[ra]. Of the devoted servants of the faith there is Sayyid Muhammad Aḥsan, who possesses outstanding ability. He is a descendant of the Holy Prophet[sa]. He has performed such meritorious service to the faith as puts a person like me to shame. In his old age he has written several books in support of Ḥaḍrat Sahib[as] and thus rendered a unique service. Then there is Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī

who serves in ways that I cannot even conceive of. All these are available in Qadian. Among outsiders there are Sayyid Ḥāmid Shāh[ra], Maulawī Ghulām Ḥasan Khān[ra] and several others.

"This is a heavy, a perilous responsibility, which can be carried only by a commissioned one of God, who has wonderful promises of divine support which sustain him against back-breaking burdens. At this time it is necessary that men and women should become united. To achieve this, pledge your allegiance to any of the revered personages I have named; I shall also do so along with you. I am feeble, do not keep good health and my temperament is not suited to the task, which is heavy and not easy to perform.

"Ḥaḍrat Sahib[as] performed four functions (a) The discharge of his personal obligations as a servant of God. (b) Looking after his family, (c) Hospitality, (d) Propagation of Islam, which was his real purpose. Of these he has carried(a) with him. As he served here, so will he serve in the hereafter. Of this you may consider yourselves relieved. Of the remaining three, the propagation of Islam is most important and very difficult. Besides atheism, Islam is beset with internal dissensions and differences. God has appointed our community for the removal of these dissensions and differences. You may consider this easy, but for him who may have to carry this burden it is most difficult. I promise you solemnly that if you choose any one of those I have named, I shall pledge my allegiance to him along with you.

But if you insist on pledging your allegiance to me then note carefully that this pledge means total commitment. On one occasion Ḥaḍrat Sahib[as] indicated to me indirectly to think no more of my home. From that moment all my honour and all my thinking became centered on him, and I never thought of home. Thus pledging allegiance is a solemn and grave matter. He who takes the pledge subordinates all his freedom and the flights of his fancy to the will of another, that is why Allah, the Exalted, has named man His servant. It is difficult for an individual to discharge the personal responsibilities entailed by this servitude, how and to what degree can he assume and discharge such responsibilities on behalf of another? Having regard to the diversity of temperaments a high resolve is needed to bring about accord. I always wondered at the works of Ḥaḍrat Sahib. He enjoyed indifferent health and yet carried such a heavy burden comprising diverse types of activities. But he enjoyed continuous divine support, and I, almost of his age, find myself empty. It is Divine bounty that had made us all brethren. Nothing can be achieved without His grace.

I wish to draw your attention to a great event in the history of Islam. In the time of Abū Bakr[ra] the whole of Arabia, with the exception of Mecca, Medina and one or two other places, was carried away in a revolt. The Meccans also hovered over the edge, but he rallied them with the admonition: 'You were the last to believe, why do you wish to be the first to renege?' His daughter ‘Ā’isha[ra] said: 'If the mountain that has fallen upon my father had fallen upon

anyone else, he would have been crushed.' Twenty thousand able-bodied men were available in Medina, but as the Holy Prophet[sa] had intended to send an army to the north, Abū Bakr[ra] despatched them accordingly. In that stark situation God Almighty manifested His power and demonstrated the fulfilment of His promise: He will surely establish for them their religion which He has chosen for them (24:56). We are today faced with a similar situation. I desire that before the burial of the body of the Promised Messiah[as] accord may be established between us.

After the death of the Holy Prophet[sa] his companions had, under the direction of Abū Bakr[ra], to carry into effect several great projects, of which the greatest was the compilation of the Holy Quran in book form. A parallel activity today would be to concentrate on putting it into practice. Then Ḥaḍrat Abū Bakr[ra] organised the collection of Zakat. That is a grand project which calls for a high degree of obedience; and there are several other duties and obligations which have to be discharged. Now whatever may be your individual inclinations you will have to carry out my orders. If this is acceptable to you I shall undertake this responsibility willingly or unwillingly.

The ten conditions of the pledge laid down by the Promised Messiah[as] shall continue in force. I shall include among them and would emphasise the teaching of the Holy Quran, the collection of Zakat, the training of preachers and such other projects as Allah may be pleased to inspire me with. Religious instruction

> and the courses of study in the theological seminary will require my approval. I undertake this responsibility solely for the sake of Allah, Who has ordained: Let there be from among you a body of persons who should enjoin good and forbid evil (3:105).
>
> Remember, all good proceeds from accord. A leaderless people is dead."[57]

As soon as he finished speaking, all present, who had arrived from far and near and who numbered about 1200, urged him with one voice: "We offer you our pledge. We shall obey your orders. You are our *Amīr* and the Successor of our Messiah[as]."

They had been occupied with tearful supplications for guidance and were much relieved to find that they now had a spiritual leader once more in the person of Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra]. All of them swore allegiance to him in his capacity of Khalīfatul Masīḥ I. The pledge was worded as follows:

> "I bear witness that there is no god except Allah, the One, Who has no associate; and I bear witness that Muhammad[sa] is His servant and His Messenger (repeated three times).
>
> This day I take the pledge of spiritual allegiance at the hand of Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] accepting all the conditions prescribed by the Promised Messiah[as] for the pledge; and promise particularly that I shall strive to study and listen to the Holy Quran, the Sunna and the True Hadith and to act in conformity to them; and shall be ever ready to devote myself and my belongings towards the propagation of Islam according to my capacity and my means; and shall be careful in arranging for the payment of

> Zakat; and shall strive to establish friendly relations between the brethren.
>
> I seek forgiveness of Allah, my Lord, for all my defaults, and turn to Him in repentance (repeated three times).
>
> Lord, I have wronged my soul and make confession of my sins, forgive Thou my sins, for no one can grant forgiveness of sins except Thyself."[58]

When all present had taken the pledge, the Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] led the funeral prayers for the Promised Messiah[as], and thereafter led the afternoon Prayer service. Then everyone filed past the bier and had a last look at the beloved features of their Holy departed. The burial was completed by 6 p.m. To Allah we belong and to Him shall we return.

The very next day Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn, member and secretary of *Ṣadr Anjuman Aḥmadiyya* published the following statement:

> "Before the funeral prayer for the Promised Messiah[sa] all members of the community who were present in Qadian and whose number was twelve hundred, accepted Ḥaḍrat Haji Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra], may Allah keep him, as his Successor and *Khalīfa*, according to the directions set out in *Al-Waṣīyyat* and in conformity with the recommendation of the members of the *Ṣadr Anjuman Aḥmadiyya* then in Qadian and the relatives of the Promised Messiah[as], and with the permission of Ḥaḍrat Ummul Mu'minīn; and took the pledge of allegiance to him. Of the members of the *Ṣadr Anjuman Aḥmadiyya* there were present Maulawī Sayyid Muhammad

Aḥsan, Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad, Nawab Muhammad 'Alī Khān, Shaikh Raḥmatullāh, Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī, Dr. Mirzā Ya'qūb Baig, Dr. Sayyid Muhammad Ḥusain Shāh and Dr. Khalīfa Rashīd-ud-dīn.

Though death was sudden and notice was short, a large number of respected friends arrived from Ambala, Jullundhur, Kapūrthala, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujrāńwāla, Wazīrābad, Sialkot, Jammu, Gujrāt, Batāla, Gurdāspur and other places, and unanimously accepted Ḥaḍrat Qibla Ḥakīmul Ummat, may Allah keep him, and joined in the funeral prayer for the Promised Messiah[sa]. This intimation is addressed to all members of the Movement, that on its receipt they should immediately take the pledge of allegiance to Ḥaḍrat Ḥakīmul Ummat, Khalīfatul Masīḥ wal Mahdi[ra], in person or by letter."[59]

On receipt of this intimation the total membership of the Movement speedily and eagerly took the pledge of allegiance to Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra], and within a very short period the whole of the community was once more gathered under one standard.

Thus the vessel of Aḥmadiyyat, which had been launched nineteen years earlier, safely weathered the fierce storm that had overtaken it so suddenly, but soon creakings and rumblings became audible. The first indication of a rift appeared in less than a week. On the sixth day after allegiance had been sworn to the *Khalīfa*, whose orders were to be as binding as the orders of the Promised Messiah[as] had been, Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn happened to arrive in Qadian. In the course of a conversation with Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-

ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad he observed, as if casually: "Mīyāń, we have slipped into a mistake which can be corrected only by our somehow defining the authority of the *Khalīfa*. He should take the pledge of allegiance from new members, should lead the Prayer services, should perform marriages and lead funeral prayers and no more."

This was a sounding to which the Ṣāḥibzāda's reaction was: "It is too late for the entertainment of any such notion. You should have thought of it before taking the pledge of allegiance. The *Khalīfa* had made it quite clear that the pledge would involve complete obedience. We took the pledge on this understanding. Our relationship with the *Khalīfa* is now of master and servants. We have no right to define the authority of our master."

Khawāja Sahib realised that his approach was misconceived and did not pursue the matter.

With the permission of the Khalīfatul Masīḥ, the Message of Peace, embodying the Promised Messiah's[as] last words, was read on 21st June, 1908, by Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn, to an assembly of several thousands in the University Hall, Lahore. The chair was taken by Mr. Justice Pratul Chandra Chattarjī, Judge of the Punjab Chief Court.

XIII

STATUS OF KHALĪFA

Simultaneously with the institution of the *Khilāfat* currency began to be given to the notion that the office of the *Khalīfa* was purely spiritual and that for the purpose of the regulation of the community and the administration of its affairs the *Ṣadr Anjuman* was the successor of the Promised Messiah[as]. The *Ṣadr Anjuman* was a self-renewing body. By its rules, which were approved on the recommendation of Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn, a vacancy among the members of the *Anjuman*, arising from the death or resignation of a member, was filled by nomination by a majority of the remaining members. So that, once as many as eight members, out of a total of fourteen, found themselves in accord with each other, they formed a majority which could perpetuate itself by filling every vacancy by nominating a like-minded person. At the time of the demise of the Promised Messiah[as], there was such a group in the *Anjuman*, the prominent ones in which were Maulawī Muhammad ʻAlī, Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn, Shaikh Raḥmatullāh, Dr. Sayyid Muhammad Ḥusain and Dr. Mirzā Yaʻqūb Baig, the last four belonging to Lahore. The President was Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] and some of the other members were Sayyid Muhammad Aḥsan, Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad, Nawab Muhammad ʻAlī Khān and Khalīfa Rashīd-ud-dīn, Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn was Secretary.

When Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] became Khalīfatul Masīḥ, a somewhat anomalous situation

resulted from the fact that he was now both *Khalīfa*, and thus Supreme Head of the Community, and President of the *Ṣadr Anjuman*. Ironically this adventitious combination was taken advantage of by the majority group in the *Anjman* to confuse the issue. They began to boost the Presidency of the *Anjuman* as the real source of authority rather than the *Khilāfat*. As early as December 1908, in their addresses at the Annual Conference, some of them stressed the need of perfect obedience to *Ṣadr-e-A'lā* (Supreme President) and full conformity to his wishes. In the minutes of the proceedings of the *Anjuman* the directions of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] were referred to as the directions of the President. This anomaly was resolved when in 1910 the *Khalīfa*-President resigned the Presidency on the ground that the two offices were not compatible, and directed that Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad should be President of the *Anjuman*. But by that time the question of supremacy between the *Khalīfa* and the *Anjuman* had already come to the surface.

After this explanatory digression we shall go back to the beginning, Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī, who subsequently became *Amīr* of the dissident group, had not been persuaded that upon the death of the Promised Messiah[as] it was obligatory upon him to swear allegiance to Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ, as he wrote afterwards:

> "The Promised Messiah[as] died in Lahore. When his body arrived in Qadian, Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn told me in the garden that it was proposed that Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] should be his Successor. Then he told me that it was also proposed that all *Aḥmadīs* should swear allegiance to him. On this I observed that

this was not necessary. Only new members of the Movement had to take the oath of allegiance, and that was what was laid down in *Al-Waṣīyyat*. I am still of the view that those who had sworn allegiance to the Promised Messiah[as] are under no obligation to swear allegiance to any one else. Yet I took the pledge in order to maintain accord in the Community."[60]

Subject to this distinction, he appears, at least at that stage, to have been inspired by a fervent spirit of obedience, as is testified to by the following statemtnt set out in his pamphlet *A Most Important Announcement*:

"There is another system of pledge current among *Ṣūfīs* which is called Pledge of Repentance. A person who takes this pledge becomes subject to the orders of his preceptor in the same way as was the purpose of the pledge of allegiance to the Holy Prophet[sa] or to the Promised Messiah[as]. But this pledge has no relevance to the *Khilāfat* of either of them. It is this pledge that those of us who are members of the Movement took at the hand of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra], and it is by virtue of this pledge that all of us are bound to obey all the orders of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra], including those that relate to doctrine. This pledge was for the purpose of strengthening our spiritual relationship to God, of deriving benefit from the association with such holy personages as Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra], and of bowing our heads before his profound learning and his grace. For this purpose it is necessary that the disciple should throw himself before his

preceptor like a lifeless body and should surrender all his desires to him; and not that the preceptor should affirm that a certain thing is right and proper, and the disciple should hold that the preceptor has not grasped the matter and that he himself understands it better. After taking the pledge such an attitude would amount to impertinence towards Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ, and would be a mockery of the purpose of the pledge."[61]

In view of this statement it follows that Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī fully subscribed to the following positive affirmations of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ:

1. I state on oath in the name of Allah that it is He Who had made me *Khalīfa*.
2. Who has now the power to deprive me of the robe of *Khilāfat*?
3. Allah has made me *Khalīfa* of His will and His design.
4. You may attribute a thousand faults to me, but you will in effect be finding fault with the design of God Who has made me *Khalīfa*.
5. As Abū Bakr[ra] and 'Umar[ra], may Allah be pleased with them, became *Khalīfas*, in the same way Allah, the Exalted, has made me *Khalīfa* after Ḥaḍrat Mirzā Sahib.[62]

In his *Most Important Announcement* Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī stated:

> "This holy one Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn, who is called Khalīfatul Masīḥ, is the only one who deserves to be so called in the true meaning of that expression."[63]

By this Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī may have meant to imply that even if Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] were to be acknowledged Khalīfatul Masīḥ in the true meaning of that expression, it did not follow that the institution of *Khilāfat* would continue after him. But any doubt on that score was set at rest by the Khalīfatul Masīḥ by his pronouncement:

> "You cannot derive any benefit from this controversy. No one will make you *Khalīfa*, nor can anyone else become *Khalīfa* in my lifetime. When I die only that one will arise whom God chooses, and God will Himself raise him."

It will thus be appreciated that the gravamen of the budding controversy was the institution of the *Khilāfat*. Other doctrinal differences were invented and given prominence by the opponents of the institution as supports and buttresses of their stand on that question. On that central question they were, however unwillingly and reluctantly, prepared to acknowledge Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] as Khalīfatul Masīḥ. Under the stunning impact of the sudden death of the Promised Messiah[as], they had committed themselves too far to leave room for a bare-faced volte-face. They had themselves tied their own hands too tightly. They soon realised that they had made a mistake, and began to cast about for devices to help them pull back from a difficult situation with the minimum loss of face. A direct confrontation with the *Khalīfa* would not be tolerated by the bulk of the community and would, therefore, be unwise. The Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] was verging on seventy, and was not in too robust a state of health. Soon the question of a Successor would come to the fore. The Community's thinking should be directed towards the concept that the supreme authority was vested in the *Ṣadr Anjuman*, and that

the *Khalīfa* was a purely symbolic spiritual preceptor, entitled to respect and honour in that capacity, but without any authority. They were apprehensive that the succession might go to Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad, scarcely yet twenty years of age, a mere stripling, whom the Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] favoured unduly and for whom he appeared to entertain a high degree of esteem. In view of this contingency also they were anxious that the priority of the *Ṣadr Anjuman* in its relations with the *Khalīfa* should be clearly established.

In pursuit of this purpose some of them had no compunction even in perverting well established doctrine. They argued that it was vain to cite verse 24:56 of the Holy Quran and to seek a parallel in the instance of Ḥaḍrat Abū Bakr[ra] in support of the *Khilāfat*, for the Holy Prophet[sa] certainly had Successors who were *Khalīfas*, but that the Promised Messiah[as], who himself was only a *Khalīfa* of the Holy Prophet[sa] and was not a Prophet in his own right, could have no *Khalīfa*. For instance, Dr. Bashārat Ahmad, who had been a signatory of the written request presented to Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] on 27th May, 1908, to assume the office of Khalīfatul Masīḥ, had the hardihood to write:

> "We had unequivocally affirmed that Mirzā Sahib was not a Prophet but only a *Khalīfa* of the Holy Prophet[sa]. *Khilāfat* can only follow upon Prophethood, a *Khalīfa* of a *Khalīfa* is meaningless."[64]

This statement was a direct contradiction of positive affirmations made from time to time by leading figures in the group to which Dr. Bashārat Ahmad belonged; indeed he himself was responsible for the affirmation:

> "In short, there would be Prophets and Messengers but they would be followers of the Holy Prophetsa, and thus their Messengership and Prophethood would not contravene the Seal of Prophethood."

Other instances may be cited as illustrations. In 1903, in his statement on oath as a witness in the case for criminal libel instituted by Maulawī Karam Dīn against the Promised Messiahas, Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī affirmed:

> "The accused Mirzā Sahib is a claimant of Prophethood. He has put forward his claim in his publications. It is a claim that he is a Prophet, but has brought no law."[65]

In the course of a speech reported in the *Al-Ḥakam* of 18th July, 1908, he said:

> "Whatever may be the interpretation of this verse (4:70) by an opponent, we are firmly of the view that God can make any one a Prophet, a Faithful one, a Martyr or a Righteous one. What is needed is a seeker. He to whom we swore allegiance was righteous, a chosen one of God and a holy Messenger. The spirit of holiness had achieved its climax in him."[66]

Addressing a meeting in Batāla Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn said:

> "A Prophet and Messenger arose in your neighbourhood. It is up to you to accept him or not."[67]

Dr. Sayyid Muhammad Ḥusain declared:

> "We are most grateful to God that the fulfilment of the prophecy of the Promised Messiahas proves that the revelation vouchsafed

> to him is the Word of God and that its recipient was a true Messenger of God. Allah has supplied conclusive proof."

Dr. Mirzā Ya'qūb Baig said: "It is a bounty of God that for the enlightenment of people of average intelligence like us He raises Prophets, saints and righteous ones in all ages."

Maulawī 'Umar-ud-dīn of Simla pronounced:

> "Our opponents have raised a storm over the interpretation of the Hadith: 'There is no Prophet after me.' They recite it repeatedly on every occasion and on its basis pronounce the claim of the Promised Messiah[as] to Prophethood as disbelief and trickery. They have become like the Jewish divines. The meaning of the Hadith is that there will be no law-bearing Prophet after the Holy Prophet[sa]; but there can be a Prophet who is a servant of his."[68]

The *Paighām-e-Ṣulḥ*, the organ of the dissentient group published from Lahore, made the following announcement in its issue of 16th October, 1913:

> "It has come to our notice that some of our friends have been misled into thinking that those who are connected with this paper, or some of them, denigrate the exalted rank of our master and guide Ḥaḍrat Mirzā Ghulām Ahmad, the Promised Messiah and Mahdi[as]. All we *Aḥmadīs* who are connected in any way with the *Paighām-e-Ṣulḥ* call God, Who is well aware of the secrets of the hearts, to witness, and announce that to attribute such a thing to us amounts to a grievous calumny. We believe in the Promised Messiah and Mahdi[as] as the

> Prophet, Messenger and Redeemer of this age."[69]

Thus the plea that as the Promised Messiah[as] was not a Prophet there could be no *Khalīfa* after him, was a mere pretence; it was without substance. But once adopted as a clever dialectical device it became part of the creed of the opponents of *Khilāfat*. They saw a further advantage in repudiating the Prophethood of the Promised Messiah[as]. They conceived that if they ceased to lay stress on it, the principal barrier in the way of the bulk of orthodox Muslims identifying themselves with the Ahmadiyya Movement would be removed, and they and those who thought alike with them would be readily acclaimed as leaders who were in the van of the spiritual and intellectual revival of Islam. They would base themselves on the teachings and philosophy of Islam propounded by the Promised Messiah[as], but would not insist upon his claims being accepted. Some of them, particularly Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn, began to mould their public addresses into such a framework, and imagined that they were being rewarded richly. It took them some time to discover how sadly mistaken they had been.

On the question of *Khilāfat*, it should have been enough for them that the Promised Messiah[as] had, in his writings and speeches, from time to time, made illuminating references to *Khilāfat*. For instance, only six weeks before his death he stressed in a speech:

> "The *Ṣūfīs* have said that the person who is to be the *Khalīfa* after a Shaikh, or Messenger or Prophet is the first one who is inspired by God to accept the truth. The death of a Messenger or Shaikh is a severe earthquake and is a time of great danger. But God provides

reassurance through a *Khalīfa*, and that *Khalīfa* revives and strengthens afresh the purpose of the advent of the deceased. Why did the Holy Prophet[sa] not appoint a *Khalīfa* to succeed him? It was because he knew well that Allah Himself would appoint a *Khalīfa*, for the appointment of a *Khalīfa* pertains to Him, and His choice is unexceptionable. Thus He made Abū Bakr[ra] *Khalīfa*, having inspired his heart as the first one to accept the truth."[70]

This was a positive affirmation that he himself would be followed by a *Khalīfa*, and that the likely choice was Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] who was the first one whose heart had been inspired to accept the truth. Concerning him he had already affirmed:

"He accepted me unhesitatingly at a time when I was about to be denounced from every direction as a disbeliever, and many who had taken the pledge repudiated it, or became lukewarm and fell a prey to doubt. Then it was the Maulawī Sahib[ra] whose letter reached me first of all in Qadian, accepting my claim that I was the Promised Messiah[as], in which he wrote: We believe and we accept, so inscribe us among the witnesses."[71]

Thus it was a divine behest that impelled the hearts of all those who were gathered together in spiritual fellowship in the garden in Qadian on the afternoon of 27th May, 1908, to acclaim with one voice Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] as Khalīfatul Masīḥ and to swear allegiance to him, the foremost among them being those members of the *Ṣadr Anjuman* who were soon to claim priority for the *Anjuman* over the *Khalīfa*. In that hour of crisis they found themselves under spiritual compulsion to avow unequivocally: His

orders will be as binding upon us as were those of the Promised Messiah[as]. They had left themselves no way of escape. It was clearly God's doing. But in a short while they began to cast about for loopholes. Sophistication replaced zeal and sincerity. When their propaganda came to the surface those possessed of spiritual insight took alarm.

One of them, Mīr Muhammad Isḥāq, younger brother of Ḥaḍrat Ummul Mu'minīn, an enlightened scholar and divine, and a person of exemplary piety and rectitude, drew up a set of questions in early January 1909, on the subject of the relationship between the *Khalīfa* and the *Ṣadr Anjuman*, and submitted them to Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra], requesting that he may be pleased to throw some light on them. The Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] sent the questions to Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī and asked him to suggest replies. When the Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] received his comments, he was amazed at their purport which revealed that the writer was in accord with the dissidents who were seeking to put an end to the institution of the *Khilāfat*. For instance, he had written:

> "It does not appear from the Testamentary Direction of the Promised Messiah[as] that the *Khalīfa* must be an individual, though that can happen in special circumstances, as is the case just now. Indeed, Ḥaḍrat Sahib[as] appointed the *Anjuman* his *Khalīfa*. It is not necessary that a single individual should be *Khalīfa*."[72]

Thereupon the Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] directed that a large number of copies should be made of the questions and despatched to leading persons in the community who should be required to send in their

replies by a certain date, and that representatives of all branches should be convened at Qadian on 31st January for consultation.

When the questions reached Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn in Lahore, he called a meeting of the community at his residence and harangued them that the community was confronted by a crisis which might destroy it if they were not careful; that the true Successor of the Promised Messiah[as] was the *Anjuman* and that if this was not established the community would be put in peril and the Movement would be destroyed. He asked all present to subscribe to a statement to that effect. Only two of them, Ḥakīm Muhammad Ḥusain Quraishī, Secretary of the Local *Anjuman*, and Bābū Ghulām Muhammad, Railway Foreman, refused to do so, on the ground that having sworn allegiance to a personage who was far more learned and God-fearing than they were, and who revered the Promised Messiah[as] more than any of them did, they would conform to whatever he might enjoin.

When news of this meeting reached Qadian, Shaikh Ya'qūb 'Alī 'Irfānī, Editor of *Al-Ḥakam*, convened a meeting at his residence in which speeches were made in support of the *Khilāfat* and its lofty status, and a resolution was adopted affirming loyal devotion to the *Khalīfa*. Out of those present, forty two in number, only two refused to subscribe to the resolution.

By the evening of 30th January, the representatives of the community had arrived in Qadian. Most of them spent the night in prayer and supplication in *Masjid Mubārak*, the rest joined them before dawn. There was so much agonised beseeching of the Divine and heart-rending supplication for

guidance as if morning would usher in the Judgment Day. When the call for the dawn Prayer service went forth and everyone had arrived in the mosque the upholders of the supremacy of the *Ṣadr Anjuman*, taking advantage of the interval before the arrival of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra], urged the validity of their thesis upon the waiting worshippers. Shaikh Raḥmatullāh was heard to exclaim: "What a pity that a few mischief makers are seeking to make a stripling *Khalīfa* and thus to ruin the Movement."

Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] arrived to lead the Prayer service and a hush fell on the assembled congregation. During the service after the *Fātiḥah* he recited Chapter 85 of the Holy Quran. When he came to verse 11:

> "Those who have involved the believing men and believing women in perplexity, and then do not repent, will surely suffer the chastisement of hell, and the torment of burning;"

his voice broke and the congregation were caught in a paroxysm of emotion. He repeated the recitation of the verse in a choked voice and the mosque was filled with cries of wailing and lamentation of the deeply shaken worshippers. All hearts appeared to have been washed clean and filled with awe of the Divine. Selfless faith took complete possession of them. Everyone felt that he had witnessed a heavenly sign. The service ended and the Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] went home.

The dissentients took advantage of the chastened mood of the congregation, and Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn told a group of them that by repeated recitation of 85:11 in agonised tones, the Khalīfatul Masīḥ had made it quite clear that those who hold the

Anjuman, which the Promised Messiah[as] had appointed his Successor, as of no account, and regard the *Khilāfat* as supreme, are guilty of involving the community in perplexity and will suffer severe chastisement. How sadly mistaken he was! He and his colleagues were soon undeceived. Following his cue Dr. Mirzā Ya‘qūb Baig went to Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ and exclaimed: "Felicitations! It has been explained to everyone that the *Anjuman* is the Successor."

He was met with the retort: "Which *Anjuman*? The *Anjuman* that you deem to be the Successor amounts to nothing."

The emissary turned away crestfallen. Things were going to be difficult! But he and those whom he represented had yet no notion of what lay immediately ahead.

The consultative body, approximately two hundred and fifty persons, was summoned to meet on the sunlit roof of the mosque. When they had all arrived Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] came and was invited to occupy a seat that was prepared for him in the middle of the roof. But he declined it and moving to the north stood in that portion which had been constructed under the directions of the Promised Messiah[as]. The brick roof was bare.

Some years later, Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ II described the scene in these terms:

> "In the eyes of a worldly person that gathering of two hundred and fifty persons seated on the bare brick floor may have appeared bizarre and inconsiderable, but their hearts were full of faith and they believed firmly in divine promises. They felt that they had met together to determine the future of Aḥmadiyyat,

on which depended the peace and progress of the world. That day would decide whether Aḥmadiyyat would prove to be just one of many worldly associations or the association of the true followers of the Holy Prophet[sa] through whom Islam was to be revived. On that day the fate of mankind was to be determined. Today it may not be realised, but before long it will be appreciated that this obscure religious movement will be much more effective in compassing a peaceful and holy revolution in the world than formidable political movements."[73]

Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] began to speak. In grave and measured tones he pointed out that *Khilāfat* was a religious concept, and was indispensable if the community was to make progress. He said:

"God has told me that if any of you deserts me, He will bestow upon me a large party in his place. So I do not depend upon any of you. I have full reliance upon Allah's grace that He will help me."

Then referring to the answers given by Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī and Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn, he said:

"I am told that the only business of the *Khalīfa* is to lead the Prayer services and funeral prayers, and to perform marriages and accept pledges of allegiance. Whoever says this is ignorant and impertinent. Such a one should repent or he will harm himself."

He admonished:

"You have by your conduct hurt me grievously and have been guilty of contempt of

the office of *Khalīfa*. He expatiated on the status of the *Khalīfa* and the nature and quality of the obedience due to him, so that no doubt was left in any one's mind with regard to what the pledge of allegiance entailed. He condemned those who had been guilty of disloyalty to the *Khalīfa*, and also expressed his displeasure with those who had organised, without his leave, a meeting in support of the *Khilāfat*. In the end he called upon certain individuals for the expression of their views. Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra] and Nawab Muhammad 'Alī Khān[ra] expressed their complete accord with him and explained that they had at no time entertained any different notion. Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn made a somewhat equivocal but conciliatory explanatory statement."[74]

The Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] then called upon Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī and Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn to renew their pledge of allegiance. He suggested that they should go apart and consult with each other whether they were willing to do so. He also called upon Shaikh Ya'qūb 'Alī 'Irfānī[ra], who had organised the meeting in support of the *Khilāfat*, to renew his pledge. All three complied and the meeting came to an end. The general feeling was one of great relief that a grave crisis had been averted and the community had been safeguarded against serious threat of disruption. But Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī and Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn bubbled with suppressed rage. As soon as they had descended from the roof of the mosque, Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī was overheard saying to Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn in passionate tones: "We have been grossly insulted and humiliated by one who professes to guide the community. I am unable to endure this."

Two or three days later Khalīfa Rashīd-ud-dīn[ra], himself the very soul of sincerity and loyalty and utterly guileless, who held Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī in high esteem and considered him a pillar of strength for the Movement, came to Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] in great perturbation, as if heaven was about to fall, and blurted out: "A great calamity threatens. Kindly take immediate action to avert it." On being asked to explain himself, he panted: "Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī says he has been grossly insulted and cannot continue to reside in Qadian." Please do something quickly to dissuade him, lest he should depart from Qadian. On this Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ said: "Go and tell Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī from me that he need not delay his departure. He is free to leave immediately." Khalīfa Sahib was flabbergasted and murmured: "Then I fear great mischief will arise." The Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] retorted: "Doctor Sahib, I have said my say. If mischief arises it will be directed against me. Why do you worry? Please tell him that if he desires to leave Qadian, he can depart immediately."

Thus it would be seen that in renewing their pledge of allegiance Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī and Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn had merely bent to the storm, and had no intention of changing their attitude. An occasion soon arose to put their sincerity to the test. Ḥakīm Faḍal Dīn[ra] of Bhera, a close relation of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masih[ra], had left a certain property in Bhera, which he had purchased very cheap from a Shia who had sold it under some temporary stress, as a legacy to the *Ṣadr Anjuman* by his will. The *Anjuman* decided to sell the property. When its original vendor came to know that the property was for sale, he wrote to the Khalīfatul Masīḥ, setting out the background of his sale of the property to Ḥakīm Faẓal Dīn[ra], and requested that the property may be sold to him on

somewhat favourable terms. The Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] forwarded his request to the *Ṣadr Anjuman* and directed that it should be considered favourably. The response of the *Anjuman* was that the property would be put up to auction and its former owner could bid for it at the auction. They were not willing to extend a favour to him which might occasion loss to the *Anjuman*. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] conceived that this attitude not only lacked beneficence but was an affront to him, and he expressed his annoyance by minuting: "Do as you please; I will not concern myself any further with the matter."

When the question came up again in a meeting of the trustees of the *Anjuman* the Secretary reminded the trustees of their responsibility to God and enquired what should be done. Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad suggested that as Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ desired that some concession should be made to the former owner of the property, his wishes should be complied with. The Secretary said that the Khalīfatul Masīḥ had left the decision to them, and read out his minute; whereupon Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib pointed out that the minute was expressive of displeasure and not of permission and that they must comply with his wishes. A long discussion ensued during which Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib was repeatedly urged to keep in mind his responsibility to God as a trustee, but he adhered to the view that he had expressed. Finally a decision was taken by a majority contrary to his plea.

When the matter was reported to Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra], he summoned the trustees who urged that the decision was taken after full discussion and consultation in which Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra] also participated. Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra] was sent for and when

he arrived Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ enquired from him: "How is it Mīyāń that my express directions are contravened?"

He replied: "Sir, I do not recall any such default on my part."

"I had given a direction concerning the sale of Ḥakīm Faḍal Dīn's[ra] property in Bhera. Why has it been contravened?"

"Sir, I was no party to the contravention. I had repeatedly urged compliance with your direction and had urged that your minute was expressive of displeasure and not of permission."

The Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] then turned to the others and said: "You say he is only a stripling, and yet he understood my minute aright and you failed to comprehend it."[75]

He admonished them at some length that obedience was a source of blessings, and that they should mend their ways, else they would disentitle themselves to Allah's grace.

Ḥakīm Faḍal Dīn's[ra] younger brother had been ready to pay a good price for the property, but when he learnt of the difference between Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] and the *Anjuman*, he drew back, and the *Anjuman* was left no choice but to comply with the wishes of the Khalīfatul Masīḥ. The obdurate trustees submitted profuse apologies to Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ, but there was no change in their attitude and their propaganda against him went forward apace. In September 1909, he announced that if there was no real improvement in their attitude by *'Īdul Fiṭr*, they would be expelled from the Community. In this situation the leaders of the group submitted a sort of

apology, but their attitude did not exhibit any real improvement.

In his sermon on the occasion of *'Īdul Fiṭr*, 19th October, 1909, Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ admonished them once more at length. Among other things he pointed out:

> "There can be no community without unity and accord. Till you are united you can make no progress."

After referring to Adam[as], David[as] and Abū Bakr[ra] as vicegerents and those who opposed them, he affirmed:

> Now I am your *Khalīfa*. If anyone should say that the name Nūr-ud-Dīn is not mentioned in his Testamentary Direction by Ḥaḍrat Sahib[as], I would counter: Nor are the names of those I have referred to mentioned in previous prophecies.
>
> The whole community had by consensus accepted me as *Khalīfa*. He who acts contrary to this consensus puts himself in opposition to God, as is said in the Holy Quran: We shall let him who seeks a way other than that of the believers pursue the bent of his inclination and shall cast him into hell (4:116). Then listen with attention that if you act contrary to your covenant your hearts will be filled with hypocrisy (9:77). Why do I admonish you thus? Because there are some of you who lack understanding and repeatedly exhibit weakness. I do not conceive that they know better than me.

I affirm with all the emphasis at my command and call God to witness that I shall not put off the robe with which He has invested me. He has appointed me for a purpose. If you and the whole world should oppose me I would pay no heed. Fulfil your covenant and you will soon see how far you advance and how successful you are. I have to say these things because they need to be said. He has assured me that He will support me. I do not call on you to renew your pledge. Hold fast to your first pledge, lest you are involved in hypocrisy. If you observe any deviation in me try to correct me through prayer, but do not entertain the notion that you can instruct me in the true meaning of a verse of the Holy Quran, or of a Hadith, or of a passage out of the writings of the Promised Messiah[as]. If any of you should think that I am vile, let him supplicate that God may remove me from the world, and then see on whom does the supplication recoil.

Another misunderstanding is about the connotation of the expression *Ma'rūf* (good). It is said that the pledge binds them to obedience only in that which they consider *Ma'rūf*. The Holy Quran uses this expression with reference to the obedience due to the Holy Prophet[sa] also (60:130).Then have they drawn up a list of his shortcomings? In the same way, the Promised Messiah[as] has laid down obedience in that which is *Ma'rūf* among the conditions of the pledge. I am expounding all this to safeguard you against error.

Then it is said that I meet all and sundry too freely. My short answer to those who have

sworn allegiance to me is: You are under obligation to follow my directions; I am under no obligation to seek directions from you. I am very apprehensive lest you may be tried. That you may cease to be in accord is a contingency more frightening than the bursting of a bomb or a severe earthquake.

It is easy to give hasty utterance to a sentiment, but it is most difficult to retract it. Some of you say that they are not seeking to limit my authority, but wish to clarify and define the authority of my Successor. But they do not reflect that he may be greater than Abū Bakr[ra] and Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as].

I had it in mind to take a certain step today, but have been restrained by God. I am overwhelmed by His wisdom and His judgment. Those of you who suffer from shortcomings should strive to overcome them. I do not expel them from the community as there may be a chance of their getting rid of their misunderstandings, and I would not deprive them of it. I exhort all of you to discard all feelings of rancour and envy. If a matter bearing upon security or fear should arise, do not bruit it about; but when it is settled you may publish it.

I tell you that you will have to conform to all this, willingly or unwillingly. If you submit willingly it would be the better for you. I admonish you to your good. May Allah, the Exalted, help you and me to continue to tread along the path of guidance, and bring all of us to a good end."[76]

The main effort of the dissentients was now directed towards winning popularity among the orthodox Muslims through propagating the philosophy of Islamic values as expounded by the Promised Messiah[as] without mentioning his name, and toning down the differences that distinguished *Aḥmadīs* from non-*Aḥmadīs*. Some members of the Movement began to be influenced in favour of the line pursued by them. Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad appreciating the gravity of the harm that might ensue therefrom took steps to expose the hollowness and danger of the fallacy that inspired that line, and thus stopped its being pursued by other members of the Movement.

On Friday, November 18, 1910, Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] fell while riding a pony and received injuries of which one, on his right temple, was serious. For some days his condition was considered grave. While he was in that condition he said one day to Dr. Mirzā Ya'qūb Baig, his principal physician: "I am not afraid of death. If in your judgment my condition is serious, you may tell me so frankly, so that I may dictate certain directions. He assured him that he was in no danger, but that if his illness took a turn for the worse he himself would warn him. Yet as soon as he left him and joined his colleagues in Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī's rooms, they put their heads together and despatched him to invite Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad to join them. When he arrived, Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn explained the situation to him in these words:

> "We have troubled you to come over as we are told that Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Sahib[ra] is very ill and weak. Those of us who are from Lahore cannot afford to stay here longer, as we must

> return to Lahore. We desire that we should consult together and agree upon some plan that should obviate any risk of trouble in case of an emergency. We wish to assure you that none of us desires to be *Khalīfa*, nor does Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī."

On this Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī made an affirmation to that effect, and Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn proceeded:

> "We do not consider any one beside you worthy of being *Khalīfa*, and we are all agreed that you should be *Khalīfa*; but we request that no decision should be taken till after our arrival from Lahore, lest someone should take some step in a hurry that might cause trouble. Our arrival must be awaited."

Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra] heard him without interruption, though he had resented the implication that while none of them wished to be *Khalīfa* he was eager for the succession, and when he finished he observed:

> "I consider that even the discussion of the question, in the lifetime of a *Khalīfa*, who should succeed him is sinful, let alone the determination that a particular individual should be his successor."

Having said this he left them to their devices.

The injury on the temple of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] was slow in healing and became a sore. On the night of 19th January, 1911, perceiving some pressure on his heart he called for paper and writing materials and wrote Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra] on a piece of

paper and enclosed it in an envelope and having closed the envelope wrote on it:

> "Following the example of Abū Bakr[ra]," in Arabic, and below it in Urdu, "Swear allegiance to the one whose name is inscribed on the enclosed."

He committed the envelope to the custody of his favourite disciple, Shaikh Muhammad Taimūr, and told him: In the event of my death the direction contained in this should be followed.

After a few days, his health having improved, he called for the envelope and tore it up. The fact of his having given this direction was acknowledged by Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī in his account of these events in the words:

> "I have learnt on the most reliable authority that in his testamentary direction of 1911, he set out the name of Mīyāń Sahib[ra] as his successor."[77]

XIV

KHILĀFAT

The function of a *Khalīfa* had been set out by the Promised Messiahas in his Testamentary Direction in these terms:

"It is the way of God which He has manifested throughout since He created man in the earth, that He helps His Prophets and Messengers and makes them triumph, as He has said: Allah has decreed: Most surely, it is I who will prevail, I and My Messengers (58:22). Their triumph means that as the purpose of the Prophets and Messengers is that God's will shall be done on earth and no one should oppose it, He establishes their truth through powerful signs, and sows the seed of the verities that they desire to spread in the world, through their own hands; but does not bring about its fruition through them. He causes them to die at a time when there is apprehension of their failure, and thus provides their opponents with an occasion for mocking at them and deriding them. But after their mocking and derision He makes manifest another aspect of His Power, and provides such means through which those purposes which had remained unfulfilled to some degree are fully achieved. In short, He manifests two types of His Power. First He manifests His Power directly through His Prophets. Secondly, when after the death of a Prophet his community is confronted with

difficulties, and his opponents appear strong, and imagine that the late claimant's mission has failed and become confident that his community would be ruined, and the members of the community are perplexed and are discouraged, and many unfortunate ones begin to think of turning away, God manifests His Mighty Power a second time and rallies the shaken community. Thus he who is steadfast throughout witnesses this miracle; as it happened when the death of the Holy Prophet[sa] was considered untimely and many of the dwellers of the desert turned away from Islam, and the companions were overwhelmed with grief. At that juncture God manifested His Power a second time, and by raising up Abū Bakr[ra] buttressed and strengthened Islam afresh, and thus fulfilled His promise: He will surely establish for them their religion which He has chosen for them; and after their state of fear He will grant them peace and security (24:56). The same happened in the time of Moses[as] when he died on the way to the Holy Land, without leading his people into it as had been promised, and there was great mourning among the children of Israel. According to the *Torah*, on the sudden death of Moses and their untimely bereavement, they were overwhelmed with grief and wept and wailed for forty days. In the same way, at the time of the crucifixion of Jesus, the disciples were scattered and one of them repudiated him.

So, dear ones, as it has ever been the way of God that He makes two manifestations of His Power, so as to frustrate two false joys of His opponents, it is not possible that in this case He

> should depart from His ancient way. Therefore, be not sorrowful over what I have told you, and do not let your hearts suffer from anxiety, for it is necessary for you to witness the second manifestation of God's Power also. Its coming will be the better for you, for it is permanent and will endure till the Day of Judgment. That second manifestation cannot arrive till after I am gone; but when I go God will send that second manifestation to you, and it will abide with you for ever."[78]

Thus the function of a *Khalīfa* is to push forward the fulfilment of the purposes of his master. Therefore, the first care of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] was to take up the projects that were pending or were contemplated at the time of the death of the Promised Messiah[as].

A theological seminary called *Madrassa Aḥmadiyya* had been established by the Promised Messiah[as] in 1906, for the purpose of providing religious instruction at a high level, and preparing and training scholars and divines who could be entrusted with the sacred task of carrying the message of the Movement and propagating its tenets and ideals far and wide; but for lack of funds it had not yet progressed beyond an elementary stage. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ appointed a Committee in June 1908 composed of Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra], Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī, Nawab Muhammad 'Alī Khān[ra] and Dr. Khalīfa Rashīd-ud-dīn[ra] to take the necessary steps to put the seminary on a proper footing. The Committee drew up a scheme, recommended immediate implementation of certain parts, and made an appeal to the community for funds. This institution has since developed into a

Jāmi'ah whose graduates are doing splendid work in propagating the message of true Islam in different parts of the world.

The Promised Messiah[as] had desired that there should be at least one hundred persons in the community of such outstanding qualities and capacities that they could become familiar with all the signs, and reasons and decisive arguments that God Almighty had manifested in support of the Movement and his claims, so that they could answer in the best manner possible all hostile critics. They should also be capable of delivering every seeker after truth from the doubts sought to be created by Christian and Arya apologists concerning Islam, and of expounding the excellences of Islam convincingly. For this purpose he made an announcement on 9th September, 1901, that a group of wise, intelligent and learned persons should forthwith embark upon a study of his books and writings and offer themselves for examination on 24th December at Qadian. This study and examination should be repeated every year. Somehow this project was not pursued further at the time. In July 1908, Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] felt very strongly the need of a body of preachers well versed in knowledge of religion who should carry the message of Islam to all parts of the world. While he was cogitating over this idea he chanced on 16th July to come upon the Promised Messiah's[as] announcement of 9th September, 1901, and was very deeply moved by it. He immediately directed that the announcement should be widely published throughout the community and that every year an examination in certain prescribed books of the Promised Messiah[as] should be held in the month of December, beginning with 24th December, 1908. Since then this method of study of the books of the Promised Messiah[as] has continued to be pursued

more and more widely in all sections of the community.

After the death of the Promised Messiahas there was a spate of criticism and objections to his claims by his opponents. Several scholars and divines from among the members of the Movement wrote pamphlets and articles in refutation of these objections. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥra also wrote a pamphlet under the title: *Death of the Promised Messiahas*. He based it on the verses: The Messiah son of Maryas was only a Messenger; many Messengers have passed away before him (5:76); and: Muhammadsa is but a Messenger; of a surety, all Messengers before him have passed away. If then, he should die or be slain, will you turn back on your heels (3:145)?

In this pamphlet he glorified God for His great bounty that on the death of the Promised Messiahas He safeguarded the community against disintegration by bringing about accord between them. He said:

> "Dear ones, do reflect how Allah, the Mighty and Supreme, on the death of the Promised Messiahas, breathed the spirit of unity and accord into the entire community from north to south and east to west. Lord, I would readily sacrifice myself for Thy sake on account of Thy great favour. Not one but as many as four sons and one grandson of Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahibas were present, and so was his able and worthy son-in-law who combines Muhammad and 'Alī in his name, and there was his father-in-law revered like a father, and yet the entire community, including all those I have mentioned, swore allegiance to one from outside the family.

Now let his opponents hold meetings and proclaim their joy. They have witnessed the first powerful manifestation of divine power and help, now let them witness the second manifestation of His power. This tree which has so far been safeguarded by the sheer grace of Allah, will now grow and flourish by the same means, despite the smallness of our numbers and the paucity of our workers.

O ye, our hasty opponents, you should have exercised a little patience. You had witnessed the first manifestation of divine power, you should have possessed your souls in peace for the second; but God Almighty has reserved the rewards of patience also for us. All praise is due to Allah, Lord of the worlds.

Have you not witnessed that our Imam passed away, and we endured the bereavement steadfastly? But you expressed your condolence over our sorrow by parading effigies and farces. Your Professor and Ṣūfī bestowed the honorary title of Servants of the Faith on the demonstrators. Good and bad die all over the world. Have you read anywhere since when has this method of condolence been adopted by the Muslims, and who has by initiating it won the title: He who initiates an evil practice? The Muslim masses of Lahore created such an uproar on the occasion as I had no conception of, and I became apprehensive that we would not be suffered to reach the railway station, but suddenly Allah, the Almighty sent the police, as a sign of His mercy, to guard us, and we were able to board the train without any difficulty with gratitude to Government in our hearts.

> Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] has left six children; praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds. If one of them or of their issue, should prove to be the one of high resolve, and the great Immanuel, whose birth has been prophecied, then at that time how will you or your progeny face the world?[79]

Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra], not yet twenty, also wrote a booklet on that occasion, the title of which was: *Who can put out the Light of the Righteous?* Having read it, Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] remarked to Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī: You and I have both written in refutation of the objections raised by our opponents against the Promised Messiah[as], but Mīyāń Maḥmūd[ra] has left both of us behind. He then despatched a copy of the booklet to Maulawī Muhammad Ḥusain of Batāla, by registered post, and wrote to him: You have said that Mirzā Sahib's[as] offspring are not good. I have sent you a copy of a booklet written by one of them. Should any of your offspring have written anything send me a copy of it.

Of the many unique distinctions of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra], it would not be out of place to mention two. He was one of the narrators of forty *Aḥādīth* of the Holy Prophet[sa] which have been transmitted orally down the centuries through an unbroken chain of narrators. In his turn he passed them on, together with the names of the whole chain of narrators, to, among others, Ḥāfiẓ Raushan 'Alī[ra] and Mīr Muhammad Isḥāq[ra].

He also had had the opportunity of performing the circuit of the Kaaba at a time when no one else-was engaged in performing it.

On the occasion of three young men, two of them students of medicine, making the pledge of allegiance, Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] admonished them:

> "One who takes the pledge becomes a slave, voluntarily and of his own free will. Those of the West say that man is born free and slavery is an evil. But let me mention an incident to you. One of my spiritual preceptors was the greatly revered Shaikh ‘Abdul Ghanī Mujaddadī, who was settled in Medina. People from far countries like Syria, Egypt, the West and Russia etc., swore allegiance to him. I used to visit him often, but I imagined that as good and evil were expounded in detail in the books, and I had completed my education, it was no use my swearing allegiance to any one; and I wondered at the large number of those who did so. Then at one time I thought I might swear allegiance to him, as it were experimentally. If I derived no benefit from it, I could repudiate it. So I visited him with that design, but my conscience rebuked me at the possibility of my repudiating a pledge and I went back without taking that step. Later I made up my mind to make the pledge, and when I visited him I enquired from him what would I gain if I swore allegiance to him. He answered that through making a pledge of spiritual allegiance hearsay is experienced as fact, and the heard is converted into the seen. I learnt a great deal from him and made much spiritual progress under his guidance."[80]

During the last ten days of Ramadan (October 1908) Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] went into retreat

(*I'tikāf*) in the mosque among a large company, which included Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad. Except during the five Prayer services, he occupied himself from dawn till night with giving a lesson of the Holy Quran to his companions. He explained difficult points, drew attention to subtleties and answered questions. In this maner he covered one tenth of the Holy Quran each day and completed an exposition of the entire Holy Book by the end of Ramadan. As a physical performance alone, keeping in mind his age, health and the strain of the fast, it was a tour de force. It was an illustration of his consuming love for, and his wholehearted devotion to, the Holy Word of God.

In the autumn of 1908, Hyderabad city in South India was overtaken by a flood of extraordinary violence which inflicted terrible suffering upon the people. Entire quarters of the city were overturned and thousands of people were buried in the rubble and perished. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] despatched several registered letters and urgent telegrams to obtain news about the community in the afflicted city, but in the confusion that prevailed none of them was delivered and, therefore, there was no response. He then sent Ḥāfiẓ Abū Sa'īd Arab as his emissary to report on the situation. The letter that he received from the community in Hyderabad city thanking him for his concern about its members and his sympathy for them in their sufferings revealed how deeply he loved the members of the community and how anxious he was about their security and welfare. This is how it was worded:

"In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Ever Merciful.

"We praise Him and call down His blessings on His Noble Messenger. To the exalted Khalīfatul Masīḥ wal Mahdira, Commander of the Faithful, Ḥaḍrat A'lā Nūr-ud-Dīn, may Allah perpetuate for us his beneficences and his blessings.

Peace be on you and the mercy of Allah and His blessings. The members of the Ahmadiyya community of Hyderabad can find no words in which to express their gratitude to Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥra for despatching, out of his great kindness and affection, several registered letters and telegrams enquiring about their welfare at a time when the people of Deccan were afflicted in the manner portrayed in the Holy Quran as: The day when a man shall flee from his brother, his mother, his father, his wife and his children (80:35-37). Unfortunately those kind messages were not delivered to us in the prevailing state of disorder, and were not, therefore, acknowledged. But the heartfelt sympathy and affection of the Commander of the Faithful could not rest content with less than sending one of his sincere friends Ḥāfiẓ Abū Sa'īd Arabra on such a long journey at his personal expense, to take care of us so distantly situated afflicted ones. Since arriving here Arab Sahibra, despite his indisposition, has been diligent in the discharge of his duties, and has, by reassuring every *Aḥmadī* brother, furnished proof of his possessing the highest moral qualities of an *Aḥmadī*.

Arab Sahibra has also conveyed the gracious message of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥra

that if the members of the family of an *Aḥmadī* should have been left unprovided for in consequence of this unexpected calamity, they should, if they should be so willing, be sent immediately to Qadian where they would be properly looked after and the cost of their journey would also be provided for. We expected, and shall expect, nothing less from the blessed personality of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra], but he and the other dignitaries of the Movement would certainly be glad to learn that, despite the fact that the residences of most of the members of the Movement were situated in the midst of such danger zones as have been completely overwhelmed and ruined, and from where thousands of dead bodies have been recovered, not one *Aḥmadī*, nor a single relative of an *Aḥmadī*, has lost his life in this terrible calamity. All praise is due to Allah for His mercy.

In conclusion all members of the Ahmadiyya community in Hyderabad most respectfully request Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] that he may be pleased to supplicate that God, the Beneficent, may perfect the faith of these distantly situated helpless ones, may bestow upon them steadfastness in times of trial, and may reform their conduct. May we carry out a holy change in ourselves, and set a good example for others. When we depart from this transitory abode may we be accounted truly faithful, obedient and sincere servants of the Ahmadiyya Movement, Amen."[81]

As early as 30th October, 1908, Shaikh Ya'qūb 'Alī 'Irfānī wrote in *Al-Ḥakam*: In two

words Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] passes his time in putting God's commandments into effect, and exercising compassion towards His creatures.

During the time of the Promised Messiah[as], Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] led the Prayer services in *Masjid Mubārak.* When Maulawī 'Abdul Karīm[ra] moved permanently to Qadian he was asked to lead the Prayer services in that mosque, but on his death Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra], despite his reluctance, had to resume the leadership of Prayer services in *Masjid Mubārak.* Since becoming *Khalīfa* he has continued to lead these services despite his physical infirmity and indifferent health.

After the dawn Prayer service he gives lessons in the Holy Quran to several women. Thereafter, for an hour, he holds a clinic for patients who come to Qadian from outside. He then gives lessons to Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra] and to Mīr Muhammad Isḥāq[ra]. There are, in addition, lessons in the Holy Quran, Hadith and Principles of Jurisprudence which any one may attend.

All the time he continues his prayers sotto voce. I have seen it with my own eyes that when he receives his mail he holds each letter in his hand and prays for the writer. This system is so extensive that after each Prayer service and after the lesson of the Holy Quran he holds scores of written requests for prayers in his hands, and as he reads each he prays for each supplicant according to the purport of his request. Before he became *Khalīfa* his relationship with the members of the Movement

was that of a brother and he prayed for them in that capacity. Now he is their spiritual father, and every one can appreciate how a father yearns for his children and is anxious on their account. In a community of four hundred thousand members there are many who are ill, many who are indigent, and many die. Who can appreciate how his compassionate heart reacts to all this?

Since God has raised him to his exalted office he has been invested with extraordinary vigilance. He keeps himself informed of the condition and circumstances of every individual in Qadian, and reacts like an affectionate father to the pains and sorrows of every one. I am personally beholden to him for his numerous kindnesses. During an illness of mine he paid me unsolicited visits and looked after me. My wife fell ill when he was in *I'tikāf*, and he appointed two or three persons to minister to her and keep him informed of her condition. I am sure everyone feels himself as being a special object of his care and concern, as was the case with the late Imam[as].

Despite his constant preoccupation with the condition of the community and the safeguarding of Islam, he finds time to examine and prescribe for every patient who comes to him; to write replies to important letters; to give necessary directions to *Ṣadr Anjuman Aḥmadiyya* about its affairs; to meet visitors from outside, to listen to their problems and requests, to give them counsel and advice, and to deliberate over schemes and projects for the propagation of Islam and the Movement and to

draw the attention of the members to them. The times of the Prayer services are prescribed; all the rest has to be adjusted ad hoc.

The depth and comprehensiveness of his sympathy may be gauged from one instance. An extraordinary flood played havoc with far distant Hyderabad. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ was so deeply affected that when letters and telegrams failed to elicit information, he sent a special emissary to far distant Hyderabad with offers of help and messages of sympathy and reassurance to the members of the community. From all this, the community at large realise that after the death of the Holy Founder[as] of the Movement, God Almighty has raised the very best person to lead them. May Allah prolong his life so that we may continue for a long time to be blessed by His grace that descends upon us in the person of Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra].

His prayers are ever with us. He concluded his address on the occasion of the Eid with: 'May the community continue to prosper. May they be steadfast and be bound together in love. May they be inspired by the Holy Spirit, and be safeguarded against earthly and heavenly calamities, and be protected by Thee against spiritual trials. May they continue victorious with Thy help. May there arise from among them sincere and intelligent speakers and preachers and summoners to God. May their leaders be well versed in Islam, illustrating it in their conduct and in their deep convictions. May those in authority among them be sincere and far-seeing.'

> After the Friday Prayer service most of his time during the rest of the day is spent in prayers for the community of which we have cited a sample. God alone knows how, in what mood and in what moving phrases this shepherd of his flock supplicates his Lord on their behalf during the dark, silent and lonely hours of the night, when every one of them is fast asleep. May God accept his supplications and make us beneficiaries thereof, Amen."[82]

On 26th December, 1908, Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] addressed the Annual Conference of the Movement for nearly three hours. He explained how his training started with: There is no god besides Allah; and how it progressed. He drew particular attention to the importance and blessings of prayer, high resolve, the Holy Quran and mutual cooperation. He then made a detailed exposition of faith and its numerous phases, basing himself on the verse: Allah has purchased of the believers their persons and their belongings (9:111). Incidentally he mentioned that, commenting on the death of the Promised Messiah[as], the *Curzon Gazette* of Delhi had written that the *Aḥmadīs* had been decapitated and had been left with a leader who could do nothing but recite the Quran to them in a mosque. On this he observed: "May God so ordain that I may keep reciting the Holy Quran to you."

He addressed the Conference again on the afternoon of 28th December. He chose the love of God as his theme. He first defined love and then proceeded to make an exposition of its diverse gradations. He then emphasised that the true object of love is the Being Whose beauty and beneficence excel those of all

others. His beauty is perfect and His beneficence is everlasting.

Under his directions Maulawī Muhammad ‘Alī published an appeal on 21st January, 1909, for contributions to a fund for providing assistance to orphans, the needy and deserving students. The personal contribution of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] to the fund amounted to five per cent of the total contributions.

Talking to a party of small school children on 23rd January, 1909, he impressed upon them the importance of avoiding bad habits and cultivating regularity in *Ṣalāt*. He pointed out:

> "When mango stones which have been planted in the earth sprout in the rainy season, you know that children pull them out and make whistles out of them. Five or six years later when the planted stone has taken firm root even a strong man would find it difficult to pull it out. Habits and beliefs are also like plants and trees. You can pluck out your bad habits easily just now, but once they have taken root you may find it impossible to pluck them out. Some children fall into the habit of telling lies. If they do not pluck out this habit early, they will find it difficult to do so later. I have observed that some of those who had formed this habit in their childhood, have not been able to get rid of it even in their maturity, though they are now divines and scholars.
>
> The second matter I would admonish you about is regularity in *Ṣalāt*. If you are not careful about it now, you may find yourself neglecting it when you are grown up."[83]

About the same time it came to his notice that a certain person had affirmed that contributions collected from the community were not employed towards the promotion of their declared purposes, but were diverted towards the achievement of selfish objectives. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] replied in detail to the specific objections raised by the critic, and went on to admonish him:

> "Mere fault-finding has never done any one any good. There are the Christians who defamed all the Prophets from Adam[as] to the Holy Prophet[sa], peace be on all of them. The Jews from the beginning and the Muslims during the last thirteen centuries have been refuting them. Has that made any difference to the Christians? Then the Shias have been running down the companions of the Holy Prophet[sa] and those Muslims who followed after them and the great men of the faith. *Bukhārī* has related that Ḥaḍrat Usmān[ra] was criticised in the presence of Ibn 'Umar[ra]. Then the mantle of fault-finding fell upon the Aryas. Has any Muslim been able to stop them? Then follow not in the footsteps of the Christians and Shias and Aryas. That path is very dangerous and rough and harmful. We teach Islam, with the capacity bestowed by Allah, as the Holy Prophet[sa] taught it."[84]

The Ta'līmul Islam High School, Qadian was started in January 1898, and was making good progress. The School and its hostel were both located in the town and were housed in unpretentious sun-baked brick structures. In the very beginning of the *Khilāfat*, need had been felt of erecting suitable spacious buildings for the school and hostel, together

with a mosque outside the town. An area of fifty acres was acquired and the order of priority was laid down as mosque, hostel and school. The mosque, named Masjid Nūr, was built with funds acquired largely through the devoted efforts of Mīr Nāṣir Nawab[ra]. In the first year of the *Khilāfat* ten thousand rupees were collected for the hostel and a kiln was set up for baking bricks. Thirty thousand more rupees were needed for the hostel building. In May 1909, under the direction of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra], an appeal for that amount was made to the community by Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī, and a committee composed of Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra], Dr. Sayyid Muhammad Ḥusain[ra], Dr. Mirzā Ya'qūb Baig[ra], Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn, Mutfi Muhammad Sadiq[ra], Shaikh Ya'qūb 'Alī 'Irfānī and Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī was appointed for the collection of funds. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] made a personal contribution of six hundred rupees. In due course, the school building was also constructed, government having made a grant-in-aid of twenty-five thousand rupees. Some time later a hospital was added through the continued efforts of Mīr Nasir Nawab. It was named Nūr Hospital. Another of his beneficent projects was the construction of a number of quarters for the indigent. In all this he was supported by Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] with prayers and financial contributions, and was held up by him as an example to others.

The prayers of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] were granted extraordinary fulfilment by the grace and mercy of Allah. Qāḍī Muhammad Ẓahūr-ud-dīn Akmal, Assistant Editor of *Badr*, published a poem of his, in 1909, with a mystical motif, the burden of which was: I had not known. One afternoon when Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] was resting at home, he

heard his wife reciting the poem in a tone that moved him deeply. He sat up suddenly and exclaimed: Praise be to Allah, I have always known! He enquired whose poem it was and having been told, and also that the poet had lost two sons, one after the other at a short interval, while they were of tender age, he immediately sent a note to him:

> "I have prayed earnestly for you. Allah will compensate you graciously for the loss of your boys. Never have my supplications to Thee, O Lord, remained unfruitful."[85]

The bereaved parents were blessed with a son in 1910, whom Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] named 'Abdur Raḥmān, and another one in 1913, whom he named 'Abdur Raḥīm. They both became university graduates, and had good careers.

A young man of Lucknow, too outspoken and free and careless in his deportment, but utterly sincere and brimming with the milk of compassion and human kindness was a student of the Lahore Medical College. He was a zealous *Aḥmadī* and a great admirer of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] whom he visited frequently. He was always at loggerheads with his Professors and teachers and fancied that they had conceived a prejudice against him. He twice failed to make the grade in his final examination. Being chagrined, he said in an audible whisper to a friend, while in the company of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra], and perhaps with the intent to provoke him: Either there is no God, or He has no control over my examiners! The Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] heard him, looked at him and exclaimed: "Ho! Indeed?" and went on with his work. That year the frustrated student passed his examination. When he informed Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ, somewhat shamefacedly, of his success, he

smiled and asked: "Have you witnessed the manifestation of the power of my Mighty Lord?"

On one occasion Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] observed: "Salvation is won through the grace of God, and His grace is attracted by righteous conduct. Thus faith alone is not enough, it must be accompanied by righteous action. The Christians do not appreciate this." Thereupon someone asked: "What type of conduct is needed for *Khilāfat*?" He answered:

> "*Khilāfat* is a sort of vice-prophethood, and both are gifts of God. I conceive, however, that this grace is attracted by the service of humanity and I have been inspired by this sentiment since my early youth. I have always been keen to serve everyone without distinction of caste, creed, country or nationality both intellectually and practically."

Shaikh Ya'qūb 'Alī 'Irfānī[ra] wrote in July 1909:

> "When a visitor arrives in Qadian from outside for the first time, he naturally looks for Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra]. Being directed to him, he is surprised to see several people sitting on mats unceremoniously without any distinction of any kind. He finds among them a gracious, awe-inspiring old man with a shining countenance; but his dress, movements and manner of conversation furnish no indication that this light-radiating being adorns the seat of *Khilāfat*. He attends the sick and ailing, clad in their unwashed and smelly garments, simply and without ceremony, diagnoses their troubles and prescribes their treatment. There are also those who ask all types of questions on religious subjects and hear the answers from his lips.

After a while the visitor realises that he is the one whom his eyes were seeking, and he wonders afresh at this spectacle of the *Khilāfat* in practice.

Our *Khalīfa*, who is our leader, is simplicity itself and observes no ceremony. He speaks to every one in such manner that the person addressed conceives that he is singled out for his affection and attention. But that is not so. He has the same sympathy and affection for every one. Both indoors and outdoors he is simplicity personified; his food is simple, his dress is simple. That which distinguishes him from his fellow men is his majestic and shining countenance. His time is all spent in ministering to his fellow beings and servicing the faith."[86]

Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] dedicated his house in Bhera for the purposes of a mosque for the Ahmadiyya community. Some of the neighbours denounced this wholly beneficent project as a mischievous design. Thereupon he addressed the following communication to the leading divine among them:

"Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Sahib[ra], this humble one has always abhorred mischief from the bottom of his heart, so that no idea of mischief ever finds its way into it. I affirm out of personal knowledge that mischief was repugnant to my father and my grandfather. Allah, the Compassionate and Beneficent, knows the truth; who else would know it? You have not been in my company, or in the company of my brothers. They were not given to mischief. Praise be to Allah that, so far as I know,

mischief was detested by my mother, grandmother and sisters.

I believe sincerely in: There is no god besides Allah; Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah. I perform the *Ṣalāt*, observe the fast, pay the Zakat, have twice performed the pilgrimage, have taught the Holy Quran to thousands and urged them to carry out its commandments. Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds. The number of my disciples runs into hundreds of thousands; among them are *Quraishīs*, Mughals, Pathans, Shaikhs. I do not instruct any of them in mischief. The members of our community eschew mischief; they suffer loss but keep out of mischief. Not all are alike; but in comparison with others they conform better to the commandments relating to *Ṣalāt*, Zakat and fasting.

When the people of Bhera took to molesting me in the mosque, I began to perform my *Ṣalāt* at home, in order to avoid mischief in the mosque. I always keep in mind: Who can be guilty of a greater wrong than one who forbids Allah’s name being glorified in His mosques (2:115)? The members of our community did not go into the mosque for any unlawful purpose; but they were constantly beaten up and were charged falsely with theft. We kept urging them to continue steadfast. When persecution became unendurable we decided to have our own mosque and announced that no one would be forbidden to worship therein. You call this mischief. To Allah we belong, and to Him shall we return (2:157).

We esteem your daughters as our own daughters. We ourselves are keen on conforming to the requirements of safeguarding the privacy of women; you need not be concerned on that score. This mosque has not been designed for causing injury and promoting discord, but as a last resort for the purpose of safeguarding ourselves against injury and maintaining order. You have purchased, without notice to us, a house of which we were joint owners. Is that not a step full of the possibility of mischief and not aimed at the maintenance of peace and order? Do reflect on: There is no god beside Allah; Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah. We have not so designed the entrance to the mosque as to contravene the requirements of privacy.

Do tell us what shall we do? You and your denouncements have excluded us from the mosque. Now that we design to convert our own house into a mosque you denounce us as mischief-makers. Is that Islam? Reflect and consult with a responsible Muslim and let me know. As for brotherhood, I leave it to you to pronounce justly upon that aspect. All I need to say is that you are acknowledged as *Quraishīs*, and we are what we are.

Maulawī Sahib[ra], would any one throw away a large three-storied ancestral home? When we found no other way of safeguarding ourselves against mischief, injury and discord, we devised this method for the purpose of maintaining peace and order. Do you wish to disrupt our community, and to stop us from even mentioning the name of Allah in this

> quarter of the town? Yet you call us mischief-makers! Have you no fear of Allah? We supplicate Him alone as Guardian. We put our trust in Allah alone, Who is the best Protector and Most Merciful of all (12:65). What more can I say? You are older than I am. Your brothers were younger than you; they have all died. I shall die in my turn. None of these houses and buildings will go with us."[87]

In early August 1909, Shaikh Ya'qūb 'Alī 'Irfānī[ra] requested Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ to give him a message for a local community he was about to visit, and he wrote:

> "I require from among the Ahmadiyya community such as give priority to the faith over the world; who, in case of a conflict between them, attach no value to the world. I require men of high resolve as preachers who should preach out of sincerity and a grasp of verities. I require divines who are far-sighted, put their complete trust in God, believe in prayer and take no pride in their erudition; and who are concerned all the time to discover ways of winning the pleasure of Allah. But there are few such. I make my plaint only to Allah."[88]

On January 19, 1910, he wrote to the *Aḥmadī* students in M.A.O. College, 'Alīgarh:

> "Dear ones, Peace be on you and the mercy of Allah and His blessings. Where you are there are Intermediate and Degree examinations, and there is an atmosphere of Cambridge and Oxford, while we are devoted to the atmosphere of the barren valley (where Abraham[as] had settled Hagar[rh] and Ishmael[as],

14:38). Make a resolve that you may pass both tests and be included among those who achieve great triumph (33-72)."[89]

The Annual Conference of 1909 was postponed to the spring of 1910 and was held on March 25-27, 1910. It was a very successful gathering, and a large number of persons took the pledge, but Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] was not entirely satisfied and gave expression to his uneasiness in his next Friday sermon, in the course of which he observed:

"I have come here with great difficulty. I have not been feeling well at all. I have a splitting headache. During this period of indisposition I have made a deep study of your condition and mine. I have sometimes been afraid of losing my eyesight; and have also thought of the eye of God that misses nothing. In short, my thoughts have ranged over a wide field. I had it in mind to recite: I bear witness that there is no god besides Allah; and sit down, but there is an urgency that compels me to speak. You may assume as if this is my last day, and what I am going to say are my last words.

You gathered here, and there have also been meetings at Gūrūkul, and of the *Anjuman Ḥimāyat-e-Islām* in Lahore, and of the Educational Conference at 'Alīgarh, at which reports were read. Here too our reporter told us all about income and expenditure. But I have been thinking why did we gather together here? The money could have been remitted through the post office, and the report could have been printed and mailed. The attendance was three thousand. Even if only the leading ones out of

them had met me I would have prayed for them and admonished them. But those who did come to see me came when they were ready to depart and came only to say goodbye. Take note and keep it in mind that I dislike intensely such meetings whose main purpose is not the fostering of spiritual values. As I have said, the money could have been remitted by postal money order, and all travelling expenses and the cost of hospitality here could have been saved. The shopkeepers here also had only their worldly gains in mind, for they wanted the Conference to be held in town so that their sales might be boosted. Those who are listening to me should remember and should convey it to others that I detest all gatherings that are held and all moneys that are collected for worldly purposes. I am ill with anxiety on that score. How good would it have been if the secretaries and other office bearers of different branches had spent some time with me. I would have instructed them in diverse types of good. I am upset with the members of the *Ṣadr Anjuman* also on account of their failure to point this out to those who had come from outside. I am not interested in how much was received and collected. Our great need is God. I do not know how much was collected, nor do I care. I urge you again to put God before everything else. All our efforts should be directed to that end. If we neglect that, of what avail is the high school, and of what avail are its buildings; We must seek the pleasure of our Master. Write to your friends and admonish them to that end. I kept awaiting even our friends from Lahore and Amritsar, but none of them turned up for the

purpose of learning anything from me. I desire that you should all become righteous and virtuous, and should pay less attention to the world and its trappings."[90]

Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] was summoned to Multan as a defence witness in a criminal trial in the Court of Rā'iy Kaishū Dās, for 26th July, 1910. He left Qadian on 24th July and stopped in Lahore for a day on his way to Multan. While he was in Lahore he received a letter from a Shia proposing a debate on some later date between him and a Shia divine who had arrived from Iran, and suggested that an umpire might be agreed upon who should give his verdict on the debate. He replied:

"I am ever ready to seek after the truth. By Allah's grace I am seventy years of age and I have not long to live. Nevertheless if I discover a way of truth I would not, if Allah so wills, persist in error. But of what persuasion would the umpire be and how would his impartiality be guaranteed?"[91]

The Shia did not pursue the matter any further.

The accused in the criminal trial in Multan was an ex-soldier who was charged with the offence of culpable homicide not amounting to murder. His defence was that he was not of sound mind. About six months earlier he had gone to Qadian for treatment by Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra], and had stayed there for a week or ten days. When the august witness appeared in court, the magistrate extended every courtesy to him and treated him with great respect. He apologised to him that compliance with procedural requirements had necessitated his being summoned as a witness. He was not asked to go into the witness box and made

his statement while he was seated in a chair. The substance of his statement was:

> "I identify the accused. He came to me for treatment more than six months ago. He was accompanied by another person. My diagnosis was that he suffered from mania, which is a form of insanity. Its symptoms are depression, reluctance to disclose true condition to physician, opaqueness of the whites of the eyes, shortness of temper. He stayed for a week or ten days, but his condition did not improve. I asked him to stay longer, but he did not. I examined him once a day. It took only a few minutes. I did not ask him to linger in my company.
>
> I am the first Successor of Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as], and am the Leader of the Ahmadiyya community. I have practised medicine for about forty-five years. I was Chief Royal Physician in Kashmir. I stayed in the State for about fifteen years. I have not heard that the accused had assaulted any one. I remember I wrote a prescription for him. I keep no register of patients. I examine every patient carefully, never casually."[92]

The lawyers and the Court Inspector also behaved towards him with due courtesy.

He had intended to leave Multan the same day but at the request of the gentry of the town agreed to stay on for another day during which he was kept busy examining patients, and in the evening delivered a public address in the hall of the *Anjuman Islāmiah.* He left for Lahore the same night and spent three days there. On Sunday morning July 31, he delivered a

public address on Islam and other Religions and returned the same afternoon to Qadian.

On 22nd October, 1910, he wrote to a friend testifying to his belief:

> "It is beyond human power to cut out and exhibit one's heart. If one's statement on oath is to be believed, there is no greater guarantee of truth than calling Allah, the Great, to witness. After my death neither you nor any one else will be with me. I will be accompanied only by my faith and my deeds. Everything will be judged by Allah, the Great, by Whose command heaven and earth are upheld.
>
> I believe in the righteousness of Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as]. He was the Reformer of this century. I believe he was a most sincere servant of Muhammad[sa], the Messenger of Allah, the Arab Prophet of Mecca, the *Khātamun Nabīyyīn*, and of the law that he brought Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] himself considered that he was a most devoted servant of the Arab Prophet Muhammad[sa] bin 'Abdul Muṭṭalib bin Hāsham bin 'Abd Manāf. The expression *Nabī* connotes one who predicts in conformity with that which God reveals to him. We do not believe that a Prophet must be a law-bearer.
>
> Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] and I adhere firmly to the belief that any one who rejects even a vowel-point of the Holy Quran or of the law of Muhammad[sa], the Messenger of Allah is a disbeliever and is cast off by God. Anyone who rejects this statement of mine, or denies it, or considers it insincere is accountable to God."[93]

The Editor of *Badr* published the following notice in *Badr* in the beginning of November 1910:

> "Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ has directed that as he keeps indifferent health and sometimes becomes seriously ill and human life is uncertain, it should be announced that anyone who deems that he has a claim against him in respect of money deposited with him, or advanced as a loan, or on any other account whatever, or a patient who considers that he has not received his money's worth from him, should come forward and receive what he considers his due. He has said that, by Allah's grace, it is quite easy for him to satisfy all such demands. God has provided him with the means."[94]

> "On the occasion of the last Annual Conference, when Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] was standing towards the south of the residence of Nawab Muhammad 'Alī Khān[ra], someone gave him some money. He cannot recall who he was and for what purpose he gave him the money. The money was set apart and has not even been counted. Readers of this notice should mention it to others also and an effort should be made to discover who gave him this money and for what purpose."[95]

XV

ILLNESS

During the course of his Friday sermon on 18th November, 1910, Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] gave expression to his sentiments in the following words:

> "It is my intense desire that I should find that this community loves Allah, obeys His Messenger Muhammad[sa] and understands the Quran. My Lord, without putting me to any trial and without my asking, has bestowed upon me numberless most wonderful bounties. He has throughout provided for my needs. He Himself feeds me, and clothes me and provides me with comfort. He has given me houses, wife, children and sincere and true friends. He has provided me with a surprisingly large number of books, and has given me time for study and bestowed upon me health, knowledge and all that was needful. Now it is my wish, and I have great hope that my Lord will fulfil this wish of mine also, that there may be from among you those who love Allah, love the Word of Allah that He has sent down to Muhammad[sa], the Messenger of Allah, are obedient to Allah, and are true followers of His *Khātamun Nabīyyīn*. There may be from among you those who follow the Holy Quran and the practice of the Holy Prophet[sa]. May it be that when I depart from this world my eyes and my heart should be in comfort on your account. I demand from you no recompense, nor am I in need of your offerings. I do not wish

> even to be greeted by any of you. All I desire of you is that you obey Allah, and becoming the true followers of Muhammad[sa], the Messenger of Allah convey the message: There is no god besides Allah; in peace and friendship to all parts of the world."[96]

After the service he decided to pay a visit to Nawab Muhammad 'Alī Khān, who had returned to Qadian from Mālīrkutla the previous day. As the distance was about a mile and a half, he chose to ride over on a mare, a somewhat aspirited animal that someone had presented to his eldest son, 'Abdul Ha'yyī, a lad eleven years of age. At the end of his visit when he was about to mount the mare, a person who was standing by, noticing that the stirrups were short, offered to let them down to suit his legs, but he declined the offer remarking that they were adjusted to suit the children and should not be interfered with. He mounted and rode away. Those who saw him ride past noticed that though the mare was going fast he held to his seat firmly and seemed to be enjoying his ride. On entering the town he had to ride through a narrow lane. At one point in the lane the mare shied suddenly, he was jerked to the right, his left foot caught in the stirrup, he was carried along in that position for a few feet and was then thrown on his right side onto a protruding piece of rock. He received several minor injuries and one serious gash on his right temple which bled profusely. When he realised what had happened he exclaimed: "The commissioned one of God has been justified!" This had reference to a dream of the Promised Messiah[as], in which he had seen that Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] had fallen from a horse. When he had seen this dream no *Aḥmadī* in Qadian had owned a riding horse. Two of the revelations vouchsafed to him might also have had

reference to this event. One was: A second life; and the other was: Life that had been cancelled.

Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥra remained absolutely calm and was not at all agitated. First aid was immediately available, and the injury on the temple was stitched up without anesthesia. Those who ministered to him did not perceive the twitching of a muscle under their operations. As the news of the accident spread, men and women converged on his residence, anxious to assure themselves of his safety. To the men he said he would pray for them; to the women he sent a message that he was in good shape, and was neither worried nor afraid; they should return to their homes, leaving their names, and he would pray for them. To a suggestion that the foremost physician in Delhi might be sent for, his reaction was: "Put your trust in God. My reliance is neither upon doctors nor upon physicians. I rely wholly upon God, and you should do the same."

The injury on his temple became a permanent sore and his illness continued for several months. It was not till 19th May, 1911, full six months after the accident, that he was able to go to the mosque and lead the Friday service, but even that was a strain. Yet during his long convalescence he kept himself fully occupied and set a very high example of devotion to duty.

On November 29, 1910, he published a message to the community, in the course of which he said:

> "The trial through which I am passing has been the occasion of the manifestation of numerous aspects of Divine compassion, mercy and grace. Allah, the Exalted, has disclosed to me the devotion of the hearts of many whom I

should love. There are some concerning whom I was not aware how much love they have for me and for their fellow members of the community. The way in which they have served me day and night during my illness is an indication of the degree of their devotion, whereby Allah has manifested their qualities. It is proof of God's care for this humble one. I am most grateful to all those who have demonstrated their sympathy for me in my present condition.

My heart is at rest. No one is as dear to me and is loved by me so much as God, nor is there any one who is such a helper and supporter for me as He is. He has bestowed His grace and His beneficence upon me in my present situation without measure. He has provided for me whence no one can conceive of. He has even removed the overt means of my subsistence which was my profession of a physician and has provided for me through covert means. I am not beholden to any one for the provision that has reached my home in these days: I am beholden for it only to Allah. All this is very strange in the eyes of the beholders."[97]

In December 1910, he observed one day:

"Illness is a trial in several ways. Expenses go up, and income declines, and one becomes dependent upon others. My visible means of subsistence was my practice as a physician, and now that has been suspended on account of my illness. Those who do not know the true state of my affairs imagined that my practice was the means of fulfilling my needs, and God has now suspended it. My wife

told me today that she had no money left, and said:You never thought of illness. During illness one may be left without provision even for the bare necessities of life. I told her that my God's way with me was not like that. I would have put money by if I had not complete trust in God."

It turned out that, without his knowing it, two money orders of the value of one hundred and twenty five rupees had arrived which were waiting to be delivered to him. When he was told of them he was deeply moved and praised God devoutly, and observed: "Such is the grace of my Almighty God. He has demonstrated that He provides for me without reference to my skill as a physician, in a manner that cannot be conceived of. My wife is unable to appreciate this, being weak. My faith is strong. My Lord always deals with me like this."

These manifestations of Allah's providence continued throughout. One day he directed Shaikh Muhammad Taimur that a statement should be drawn up of all the expenses incurred during his illness in respect of medicines, bandages etc. and the total amount should be re-imbursed out of money that had become available. He observed: "My Lord provides for me. I do not wish to be beholden to anyone. He has promised me that He would fulfil all my needs."

On December 15, 1910, it was reported that Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] was making good progress. He had no fever and no cough. He was still very weak, though he had gained some strength. His injuries were healing gradually, the one on his lip had almost healed and he no longer experienced difficulty in eating and speaking. He suffered occasionally from insomnia. He had the Holy Quran read to him daily, morning and afternoon. He commented on certain

points and occasionally made admonition. A European Muslim called to enquire after his health, and the Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] spoke to him at some length about Islam.

The Annual Conference was held on December 25, 26 and 27, 1910. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] addressed the Conference on the afternoon of December 25, on: There is no god save Allah; and again on the afternoon of December 27, on: The weapon of prayer. In the course of his second speech he observed:

> "Call on Me, I shall respond to you (40:61); is a weapon, and is very effective. Sometimes one who wields it is weak, and repudiates its effectiveness. It is the weapon of prayer, which has today been discarded by mankind. The members of our community should sharpen it and make use of it. They should pray constantly and should never get tired of supplication. I am so ill that no one can conceive how long I might survive; therefore, it is my last admonition: Along with: There is no god save Allah; sharpen the weapon of prayer. There should be no dissension in the community, for when there is dissension in the community it becomes the subject of divine chastisement; as is said in the Holy Quran: When they forgot that with which they had been admonished, We delivered those who had admonished them, and We afflicted the transgressors with a grievous chastisement because of their disobedience (7:166). You have so far been safeguarded against such affliction. Even prayer does not avail without the grace and mercy of God. Therefore, I admonish you:

Pray constantly; I repeat: Pray constantly that the community may be safeguarded against dissension. The favour that God has hitherto bestowed on it is the result of prayer. Pray for me also that my coadjutors should be sincere believers, submissive to God, beneficent, benevolent and should not oppose me. May I be furnished with preachers who should preach with reasoned conviction, should recognise the truth, should be free from worldliness, and along with their sincerity should be aware of the way of the Holy Prophetsa."

He wound up with:

"You owe me some obligations:

1. You have sworn allegiance to me and owe me obedience. He who defaults on a covenant becomes a hypocrite. I am fearful lest anyone should become a hypocrite through disobeying me.
2. I supplicate agonisingly on your behalf.
3. Owing to my illness I am not able to go into prostration during *Ṣalāt*, yet, for your sake, I have prayed long and earnestly for you while in prostration.

Therefore, in acknowledgement of your obligation to me, give up all discord and dissension."[98]

At the end of the Annual Conference he sent for the Presidents and office bearers of the branches and told them:

"I have sent for you as I had been annoyed that last year you had not met me, and

I had intended that if I was spared I would admonish you this year.

I had never conceived that I would be the Spiritual Head of a community, but when God willed it He made me one suddenly. You are office-bearers in the community and no doubt you are often faced with difficulties. Someone may feel why was he not made an office-bearer, and nurse rancour on that account. My own attitude is that if, on the death of the Promised Messiah[as], his infant daughter Amatul Ḥafīẓ had been chosen to succeed him, I would have been the first to swear allegiance to her and would have obeyed her as I had obeyed her father, in the certainty that God's promises would be fulfilled at her hands also. My purpose in saying this is that one must not entertain such aspirations.

My first admonition is, and I beg you in the name of Allah to take it to heart, that in the face of difficulties keep in mind the divine directions! Avoid dissension lest you falter and your strength depart from you. Be steadfast; surely Allah is with the steadfast (8:47). Allah being the Creator of man's nature knew that there would be dissension; so He directed: Be steadfast; Allah is with the steadfast. Thus, in case of a difference with an office-bearer, be steadfast. Allah will be with the one who is steadfast for the sake of His pleasure.

I am entitled to admonish you. Having covenanted to obey me in all good matters, I call upon you to obey me in this: Avoid dissension. Whenever you are confronted with dissension, fall down in prostration before God that you

may be bestowed steadfastness. Be not afraid of difficulties; they are encountered in every situation. I had to encounter mine. Some members fell into error and were guilty of great impertinence and disrespect; but I forbore. They did not realise what was due to the Head of the Movement. Such lack of realisation is due to lack of knowledge. But God was merciful; He Himself set their hearts right. Hearts are in God's hands and He inclined all of them towards me, and thus they and we and the community experienced His mercy and beneficence. So avoid dissension yourselves and persuade the members of the community to avoid it. Allah, the Exalted, has prescribed steadfastness for such occasions.

Another matter to which I wish to draw your attention is that at some places where there are large sections of the community further progress has become slow. I know the reason thereof, and admonish you to have recourse to two remedies. The first is that the office-bearers should supplicate in agony. You know that at the time of an eclipse of the sun or moon Prayer services are held. The Holy Prophet[sa] was much perturbed at the time of an eclipse, though he knew that it was a natural phenomenon, as is said in the Holy Quran: We have appointed stages for the moon (36:40). He knew that during an eclipse the light of the sun or the moon is not diminished, but is screened from the earth. Yet he was perturbed, because he had been charged with the conveying of a message and was apprehensive lest some obstruction might be encountered in his conveying of it. Therefore, at the time of an

eclipse he supplicated, gave alms, offered sacrifice and freed slaves.

Stupid philosophers fail to comprehend this mystery; but a Prophet knows that he himself is illumined, yet he is apprehensive lest his light should be obstructed as the light of the sun and the moon is obstructed during an eclipse. Therefore, he supplicates and gives alms. The giving of alms is the second remedy for removing obstruction in progress. Keep well in mind that where progress has slowed down, the office-bearers should wash and supplicate in *Ṣalāt*, and give alms and spend in charity personally, so that God may be pleased to remove the obstruction from the way of progress. I enjoin upon you the giving of alms, as alms and spending in charity put out the fire of Divine wrath.

Lastly, I wish to warn you against suspicion in the matter of the administration of the funds of the community. Those concerned with them here, at the centre, are honest and trustworthy. Therefore, have no apprehension on that score. I too am a trustee in respect of whatever is sent to me. I want to assure you that God has not made me greedy for money. I have no desire for money. I make my wife a fixed allowance. Nor have I any desire for greatness.

I am approaching my end. I am your sincere well-wisher. I supplicate constantly on your behalf. I have not set aside any money for my children. I received no money from my father nor from my brothers; but my Lord has bestowed a great deal upon me and continues

> to do so. Therefore, discard all ill-thinking on that score. Cultivate love for each other, avoid dissension, do not think ill of anyone; should anyone be annoyed with you be steadfast, and be constant in supplication.
>
> I have had it in mind for a whole year to say all this to you. Some may have thought that I had some selfish motive in wishing that you should see me. I seek nothing from any of you. My name in heaven is ‘Abdul Bāsiṭ, meaning the servant of the Bestower of vast bounty. He bestows everything upon me as it is needed. Great is His grace upon me. A short while ago I fell down from a mare I was riding. If it had kicked me in the eye what could have availed me? But I was safeguarded by His grace. Many errors were committed during the year that is just ending, but I am hoping that by His grace, all errors will be shunned during the year that is about to begin."[99]

The medical report of January 5, 1911, stated that the injuries of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] were dressed daily during the days of the Annual Conference and he wore a bandage, but since then the injuries had healed and the bandage had been removed. He had been much fatigued on account of his activities during the Conference and the large number of visitors he received and spoke to. Two of his teeth which were causing him trouble were extracted and he ran a temperature for two days. His temperature is now normal, but he suffers from nervous pain, off and on. He is cheerful all the time and exhibits no sign of strain or anxiety. After his teeth were extracted, he observed: "Every pain has its compensation. I can now drink and enjoy cold water."

A week later it was reported that he still suffered from nervous pain from time to time and had a painful swelling on his cheek in consequence of the extraction of his teeth.

The report of January 19, indicated continuation of occasional nervous pain, and restlessness and loss of sleep during one night.

Dr. Mirzā Ya‘qūb Baig[ra] reported good progress in every respect on January 22. The august patient had had a restful night and had no temperature. He was progressively gaining strength. When the doctor was about to leave him after examining him, he enquired from the patient whether he would like something particular. His reply was:

> "All my heart desires is that Allah may be pleased with me. (He repeated this three times) I desire that you should continue obedient, and be not divided. Raise no contentions. I have had my fill of the world. I have no worldly desire. All I wish is that when I die the Lord should be pleased with me. Tell everyone so. I have no care for the world. I have been bestowed much and have been given much and have spent much and have given away much. I have no further wish. I sometimes wish for health, lest prolonged illness should corrode my faith. Allah, I beg Thee, be pleased with me.
>
> I am eager that there should be no dissension in my community. The world means nothing to me. I would be greatly pleased if you should remain united. I cannot go into prostration on account of my illness; yet I supplicate on your behalf in prostration. I have supplicated repeatedly for your good. I seek

nothing from you, nor have I any worldly desire. My Lord provides for me abundantly in mysterious ways, far beyond my needs. Beware of differences and contentions. If you shun them you will be greatly blessed by Allah, and your honour and strength will be maintained; else you will lose everything.

I have never issued any direction out of a selfish motive; all my directions have been in pursuance of the will of God. Be diligent in *Ṣalāt* and supplicate constantly. *Ṣalāt* is Prayer. Do not multiply differences and contentions; they have done great harm. Should differences arise, keep silent. Supplicate for yourselves and for your opponents. Repeat often: There is no god save Allah; Muhammad[sa] is the Messenger of Allah. Hold fast to the Quran. Read it much and act upon it. As for myself, I am pleased with Allah as Lord, Islam as faith and Muhammad[sa] as Messenger. With this I commit you to God."[100]

Later medical reports indicate that Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] continued to make slow progress towards complete recovery of health. All his other injuries had healed, but the injury on his right temple had become a running sore. He had perforce to spend his day in his sitting room where he carried on his activities and performed his duties as far as he was able. He gave lessons and even occasionally saw patients and prescribed for them. On 30th January, he summoned Makhdūm Mīyāń Muhammad Ṣiddīq to attend with paper and writing materials and asked him to recite the following verse of the Holy Quran three times: "Does it not suffice them that We have sent down to thee the perfect Book, which is recited to

them? In this, surely, is mercy and admonition for a people who believe (29:52);" and, on his doing so, said to him:

> "In this verse Allah has set out all stages for the progress of a seeker after truth. He asks: Is not the Book that We have sent down to Muhammad[sa] sufficient for all the needs of the believers? There is in it mercy for them and every type of admonition.
>
> I am well acquainted with the phenomena of nature and every form of vision, but after this divine testimony I deem it the height of ingratitude to have recourse to any other method of spiritual progress. I consider them the ways of mummery. Remember this, all of you. If any idea contrary to this should arise in your minds after I am gone, seek guidance through: There is no power to do good and no strength to resist evil except through Allah, the Most High, the Most Great.
>
> Then consider another divine testimony which is in the very beginning of the Holy Quran, namely: I, Allah, the All-Knowing, affirm that this is the Perfect Book, there is no doubt in it. It is a guidance for the righteous (2:2-3). This means that the Quran furnishes the only way of achieving righteousness. I point this out to you under divine direction. It is related in *Aḥādīth* that the Holy Prophet[sa] used diverse formulae for seeking the protection of Allah, but after the last two chapters of the Holy Quran were revealed, he discarded everything else and confined himself to them.

> A third testimony is: Tell them: I but follow that which is revealed to me by my Lord. This revelation is replete with clear proofs from your Lord and is guidance and mercy for the people who believe. When the Quran is recited, listen carefully to it in silence, that you may become the recipients of mercy (7:204-205)."[101]

On February 10, 1911, Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] addressed the following observations to those who were in his company at the time:

> "Great is Allah's grace upon me. He has demonstrated His power and His care for His humble servant in wonderful ways in the course of my illness. I have been convinced afresh of the acceptance of prayer. Supplication is a great source of His grace for me. My Lord has bestowed great favours upon me. I wish I had the strength to recite them to you in detail. Only today I have been vouchsafed the revelation: Enrich me by Thy grace so as to suffice me to the exclusion of all beside Thee. I was suffering from insomnia. The doctors were dosing me with medicines without avail. Last night I took no medicine and I slept for five hours. God is a mighty King; He does whatever He wills. Remember this admonition of mine. Have faith in Allah, and entertain high hopes of winning His favour. Be not discouraged by difficulties; they are designed to exalt you. Seek help from God. This is brief and simple but is very necessary. Remember it, and do not neglect it. May Allah be with you, guard you and help you. Amen."[102]

Someone enquired from Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] on February 27, 1911, whether the doctrinal

differences between *Aḥmadīs* and non-*Aḥmadīs* were matters of principle or of detail. He observed that it was not correct that these differences were on matters of detail. Our *Ṣalāt* was performed in the same way as theirs, nor was there any difference concerning the Zakat, pilgrimage or the fast. I consider that we differ on a matter of principle, which may be put in this way. Faith requires belief in Allah, His angels, His Books, His Messengers, His measure of good and evil, and in resurrection. Our opponents also profess belief in all these, but this is where our difference starts. No one can be a believer unless he believes in Allah's Messengers, in all of them without discrimination with regard to time or place. The rejection of any commissioned one of Allah, makes a person a disbeliever. Our opponents reject the claim of Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] that he was a commissioned one of Allah. This is not a matter of detail. The Holy Quran enjoins: We make no distinction between any of His Messengers (2:286). The rejection of the Promised Messiah[as] amounts to making a distinction. We believe in the Holy Prophet[sa] as *Khātamun Nabīyyīn*, as he is designated in the Holy Quran (33:41). We believe that he who does not accept him as such is a disbeliever. We differ with our opponents on the interpretation of this expression, but that difference has no relevance to: We make no distinction between any of His Messengers. Thus I consider that there is a difference of principle between non-*Aḥmadīs* and us.

On the same day he wrote to Nawab Fatiḥ 'Alī Khān of Lahore promising a contribution of one thousand rupees towards the Muslim University Fund, and issued the following direction to the members of the community:

"There is a scheme for the establishment of a Muslim University in India, and some of our friends have enquired whether they should contribute towards it. For the information of the members of the community it is announced that though our Movement has many special needs and the members of the Movement have to make substantial contributions towards filling them, yet, as the Muslim University project is a beneficent one, I consider it necessary that our friends should contribute in every way towards promoting it."[103]

In the beginning of April 1911, a Muslim daily of Lahore proposed that the birthday of the Holy Prophet[sa] should be celebrated as a festival, and the Simla branch of the community sought the directions of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] concerning the proposal. He replied:

"The Holy Founder[sa] of Islam appointed only two festivals for the Muslims, and Friday is also a festival day. Any other festival would be an undesirable innovation. In this way people will go on adding to the festivals. The *Aḥmadīs* would wish to celebrate the anniversaries of the day on which the Promised Messiah[as] received his first revelation, and the day of his death. The companions of the Holy Prophet[sa] were devoted to him but they did not celebrate a third festival. The Promised Messiah[as] was the greatest lover of the Holy Prophet[sa] and had such a festival been permissible he would have celebrated it. Such suggestions are foolish, those who make them only seek popularity; they are not inspired by any spiritual motive."

Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] led the first Friday noon service, after his accident on May 19, 1911, after an interval of six months. It was an occasion of great rejoicing throughout the community. Thereafter for quite a long period he would attend the Friday noon service in the mosque, while all Prayer services including the Friday noon service, continued to be led, under his direction, by Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra]. On one occasion Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī suggested to Ḥāfiẓ Raushan 'Alī[ra] to enquire from Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] why, in the presence of older and more learned divines, he had directed that the young Ṣāḥibzāda[ra] should lead the Prayer services. Ḥāfiẓ Raushan 'Alī[ra] made the enquiry, without mentioning who had inspired it, and received the reply:

> "The Holy Quran says: The most honoured among you in the estimation of Allah is he who is the most righteous among you (49:14). Name from among the whole community one as righteous as Mīyāń Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra]. Then shall I appoint Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī[ra] to lead the Prayer services and deliver the sermon?"

The British Government announced that a Coronation Durbar would be held in Delhi on December 12, 1911, to proclaim His Majesty George V Emperor of India. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] thought it would be a good opportunity to request the King Emperor, through His excellency the Governor-General of India, that Muslim employees of Government may be granted a recess of two hours on Friday to enable them to participate in the Friday noon service. For this purpose he drew up a memorial,

concerning which he made the following announcement on July 1, 1911:

> "Friday is accounted a very blessed day in Islam, and is looked upon as a festival by the Muslims. Attendance during the Friday noon service is obligatory, and more emphasis is laid upon it than upon attendance during the service on the two recognised festival days, as is said in the Holy Quran: O ye who believe, when the call is made for prayer on Friday, hasten to the remembrance of Allah and leave off all business (62:10). That is why ever since the inception of Islam, Friday has been observed as a holiday in all Muslim countries. In India also Friday was observed as a holiday for centuries. The verse just cited does not permit of the Friday noon service being performed individually; attendance at the mosque, listening to the sermon, and participating in the congregational prayer are obligatory.
>
> Sunday is a holiday on account of the religion of the sovereign, and government business does not permit of two holidays in a week. It is, therefore, necessary to propose something that would secure the desired end for the Muslims without creating any administrative difficulty. An easy way would be either to close all offices, courts, schools, colleges etc. for two hours at the time of the Friday noon service, or to grant Muslim employees and students leave for that space of time to enable them to participate in the service. A government circular to that effect may be issued to all departments.

> We have prepared a memorial for this purpose to be submitted to the Governor-General. But as the purpose is common to all Muslims we deem it necessary that before the memorial is submitted, its purport should be conveyed to the Muslim public, newspapers and associations so that they might lend it their support through resolutions, declarations, articles etc, and the government being convinced of this need of the Muslims, due provision may be made for it. We are concerned only that as this is a common need of all Muslims, the proposed request may be submitted to the Governor-General with the unanimous support of all Muslims. It is not our desire that we alone should submit it. As God has moved us in this behalf, we have put forward this proposal. Should any Muslim association or body take exception to it merely because we have put it forward, we shall gladly hold back provided some other appropriate method is adopted for conveying the request to government."[104]

A suggestion was made from ‘Alīgarh that the proposed memorial should be submitted on behalf of the All-India Muslim League. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] signified his assent. In consequence of the memorial government granted the desired facility to Muslims.

XVI

FINAL ADMONITIONS

The Annual Conference of 1911 was held on December 26-29. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] addressed the Conference for two and a half hours on the afternoon of December 27. His text was:

> O ye who believe, be mindful of your duty to Allah to the utmost, in all respects, every moment of your lives, so that death, whenever it overtakes you, should find you in a state of complete submission to Him. Take fast hold, all together, of the rope of Allah, and be not divided. Call to mind the favour of Allah, which He bestowed upon you, when you were at enmity with each other and He united your hearts in love, so that, by His grace, you became as brethren. You were on the brink of a pit of fire and He rescued you from it. Thus does Allah explain to you His commandments that you may be rightly guided. Let there be from among you a party whose business it should be to invite to goodness, to enjoin equity and to forbid evil. It is they who shall prosper. Be not like those who became divided and created dissensions after clear proofs had come to them. It is they for whom there will be great punishment (3:103-106)."

In the course of his address he laid stress on certain points which may be summarised as follows:

What is your duty to Allah? It is that you should adhere to true doctrines, your conduct should conform to them and you should be righteous. Righteousness safeguards one against suffering and bestows comfort. A righteous one is delivered from all constraints. He is loved by God and is provided for in a manner of which he has no conception. His prayers are accepted and he is bestowed triumph over his enemies who are ruined. The gates of the knowledge of the Divine are opened for a righteous one. Therefore, my first admonition is: Be righteous, be righteous, be righteous for the sake of Allah. Be truly obedient to Allah, and may your end be in a state of obedience to Him. Such obedience is a wonderful bounty. Abraham[as], the great Patriarch, was accounted worthy of all blessings because of such obedience, as is said: When his Lord commanded him: Do thou submit thyself to Me; he responded: I submit myself to the Lord of the worlds (2:132). Therefore, if you too wish to be favoured with heavenly blessings, be righteous. Real righteousness sprouts in a true Muslim; therefore be Muslims, and let death find you Muslims.

Then combine all together, and with your combined strength take fast hold of the rope of Allah, and be not divided. I recite the verse to you once more: Take fast hold, all together, of the rope of Allah, and be not divided. So keep fast hold of the rope of Allah, all together, and do not let go of it. In Islam the rope of Allah is the Holy Quran. The Aryas, Brahmans, Sanatanists, Christians, atheists and pagans are all pulling at this rope with all their strength

and wish to pull it away forcibly in their direction. On the other side you claim to be holding fast to this rope of Allah. Do not leave this claim without proof. Put forth all your combined strength firmly and hold fast to it, lest the opponents of Islam should pull it away from you. Holding fast to it means that you should make the Holy Quran your code and your guide. All aspects of your lives should be subordinated to it. All your affairs, every movement and stillness of yours should be regulated by this Holy Book of God, which is healing and light. I convey to you once more the command of Allah, listen to it and listen with attention. Hold fast, all together, to the rope of Allah and be not divided. Beware! Be not divided. Do you know what will be the consequence, if you are divided? This rope will slip from your hands, and you will lose all strength, as Allah, the Exalted has said: Avoid dissension, lest you falter and your strength depart from you (8:47). You will be disrupted, your strength will be frittered away and your enemies will triumph over you.[105]

Harken! I am Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra], and God has made me *Khalīfa*. I had no desire at all to be *Khalīfa*, but now that God has invested me with this mantle, I intensely dislike all dissension. I do not wish you to be involved in dissension. I wish to eliminate all causes of dissension. You cannot conceive how the very idea of dissension in the community distresses me. You are not aware of this agony: you have no idea of it. I wish, and it all depends upon God's grace, that I should not hear of any dissension or division among you, and that I

may witness with my own eyes that you are a practical illustration of the Divine command: Take fast hold, all together, of the rope of Allah, and be not divided.

I repeat, let him who is present listen and convey it to others, shun contention. After I die you will have many occasions for contention. Perhaps you imagine that I have become *Khalīfa* easily like Abū Bakr[ra]. You have no notion of the reality, nor can you conceive of the burden of responsibility that has been placed upon me and the anxiety that it occasions me. It is the pure grace of God that I have been enabled to carry the burden. Not one of you can estimate it correctly, let alone carry it. Can he who has to look after hundreds of thousands sleep in comfort?

Standing in this mosque, with the Quran in my hand, I call God to witness that I had not the least desire at any time to become a spiritual preceptor. But no one knows God's design. He did whatever He willed. He united all of you at my hands, and He Himself, and not any of you, invested me with the robe of *Khilāfat*. It is my duty to honour and respect it. I do not desire from you money or anything else. I do not care whether any of you offers me greetings or not. Up to April last I used to pass on your personal offerings to me to Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī, but someone misled him and he said these offerings belonged to the *Anjuman* and he, as Secretary of the *Anjuman*, was their custodian. Thereupon I stopped sending him these monies, out of regard for the pleasure of Allah, to see what would they do about it. Those

who think like that are in error and have been guilty of disrespect. They should repent; I repeat that they should repent. If they do not repent they will be in evil case.

Now I set apart the offerings that are made to me personally, and dispense them to win the pleasure of Allah. I do not depend upon you for my personal needs nor for the needs of the members of my family. God has never let me be dependent on anyone; He provides for me amply out of His hidden treasures. Also, I am still able to exercise the profession that He has bestowed upon me. Keep it in mind, and I repeat, that I do not need your money, nor do I ask you for it. If you send me anything I spend it to win the pleasure of Allah, as I conceive it. Then what could have prompted in me any desire to become a spiritual preceptor? God did whatever He willed, and neither you nor any one else can do anything about it. Therefore, school yourselves to respect God's design; that is the way to earn God's blessings. This also is a rope of Allah, that has bound together your scattered elements. Hold fast to it.

Keep well in mind that you have no authority to remove the *Khalīfa*. If you perceive something in me that you esteem a fault, point it out to me respectfully. It is God who appoints a *Khalīfa*; it is not the business of men. God made Adam[as] a *Khalīfa*, and also David[as]; then He makes *Khalīfas* under 24:56; He has made all of you *Khalīfas* also. If I have been made *Khalīfa*, it is God's doing in His wisdom and for your benefit. No one has power to remove a *Khalīfa* who has been appointed by God.

Therefore, none of you has the authority or power to remove me. If God desires to remove me, He will cause me to die. You had better leave this matter in God's hands; you have not the power of removal. I am not beholden to any of you. He lies who says he has made me *Khalīfa*. It hurts me when I hear it said that this is the age of constitutions and Parliaments; Iran and Portugal and Turkey have all set up Parliaments. I affirm that he who considers this Movement Parliamentary and constitutional should repent of his error. What comfort do you think has been procured for Iran and others by a Parliament? Many were ruined under Muhammad 'Alī Shāh, and his successors are receiving ultimatums. Have the Turks slept in peace after setting up a Parliament?

I remind you again that it is clearly set forth in the Holy Quran that it is God who appoints *Khalīfas*. When He appointed Adam[as], He said: I am about to place a vicegerent (*Khalīfa*) in the earth (2:31). The angels raised objections, but what benefit did they derive therefrom? Read the Quran and see. If that was the case with the angels and they had to confess: Holy art Thou, no knowledge have we save that which Thou hast taught us (2:33); then who are you to criticise me? You had better look into your mirrors. I remember well someone saying: A Parliament has been established in Iran; it is the age of constitutions. Such sentiments are disloyal and disrespectful. Those who think like this were shown the consequences of constitutionalism, by the jealousy of God, in Iran itself. I repeat they should repent even now.[106]

Money and clothes are sent to me for the orphans and the indigent. Such money I make over to Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī, in observation of the direction: Approach not the property of the orphans (6:153). Among the clothes sometimes costly items are received. I told my wife to sell such items, and out of the proceeds to prepare average types of clothes so that a larger number of deserving persons may be helped. My wife enquired whether she could buy some items herself. I told her she could not, but women unrelated to us could buy such items. There are frequently cases of marriages of indigent people, and the brides have to be provided with some clothes and ornaments. Then there are moneys that I am told to spend at my discretion, or in some manner the spiritual benefit of which should go to a deceased person. Some moneys are received generally for charity. Some are earmarked by the donor specifically for my personal benefit, and I know that this is done by the special design of God.

I have not related all this in my defence. Allah knows well that I attach no value to your approval or disapproval or rejection of me. I have told you this lest any of you should become guilty of sin by falling a victim to suspicion. I am not in need of your money. Even in the lifetime of the Promised Messiah[as] I received such moneys and I accepted them. I tell you this as I wish you well. I have not the least fear of any of you; 1 fear God alone. Do not think ill. If I am in error, leave me in my error. At this age if I have not learnt from the Holy Quran, what will you teach me? My condition is

> such that if I keep sitting, my feet begin to ache; I stand up to address you because the Holy Prophet[sa] delivered his addresses standing. Then listen to me for the sake of God, as I convey to you His command, not mine: Take fast hold, all together, of the rope of Allah, and be not divided.[107]

Talking to a patient on June 11, 1912, Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] said:

> "In every profession a programme can be laid down, except in the profession of medicine. A builder can undertake to complete a structure within a specific period; a clerk can promise to prepare a statement in so many days; a tailor can say he will deliver a suit on a certain day; but a physician cannot say he would cure a patient in a certain period of time, though some stupid physicians sometimes make such a claim. A good physician does not venture to make a claim like that. I sometimes procure medicines from China, but I am so careful that I have not yet tried on a patient any of several medicines which I have obtained after great effort and at a high cost, because no physician has yet told me the result of his own experiment with them or the method of their use. I never prescribe herbs or medicines which are not easily procurable."[108]

Shaikh Raḥmatullāh[ra] of Lahore had been promised by the Promised Messiah[as] that he would lay the foundation of a building he was contemplating erecting in Lahore, but the Promised Messiah[as] passed away before the occasion arose. In June 1912, Shaikh Raḥmatullāh[ra] requested Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] to carry out the Promised Messiah's[as] promise, which he

readily agreed to do. He went to Lahore on June 15 and performed the ceremony the same afternoon after a brief address in the course of which he said:

> "My master and my benefactor had promised Shaikh Sahib that he would lay the foundation of his building with his own hand, but it was God's design that his promise should be carried out by a servant of his. Shaikh Sahib wrote to me that I should come over for the purpose. I am not well and suffer from pain in some of my limbs, but I was eager to fulfil the word of my beloved master.
>
> Several new structures have been erected and are being erected around this plot, but we have a special interest in this proposed structure, both personal and communal. The personal interest is that the late Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] had promised to lay its foundation, and a servant of his should carry out the promise. The communal interest is that our community has also a share in this building. The members of the community should pray earnestly that the ultimate result should be good and the dwellers in this building and those who manage it should be righteous and love virtue.
>
> I have said that the whole community has an interest in this building. I hope that all of you will pray earnestly that Allah may be pleased to bless it and that the children of Shaikh Sahib[ra], who loves us, may love us like him. I shall now lay one brick with prayers, and thereafter Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra], Bashīr Ahmad[ra] and Sharīf Ahmad[ra] and Nawab Muhammad 'Alī Khān[ra] should each lay one brick with prayers."[109]

Since Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ's[ra] previous visit to Lahore the mosque in Ahmadiyya Buildings had been erected. As soon as he arrived in Lahore on June 15, he proceeded to the mosque, offered two *Rak'ās* of prayer and supplicated earnestly at length for those who had been responsible for building the mosque and their progeny. The next day he addressed a large gathering of the members of the community. In the course of his address he said:

> "God Almighty, of His grace, gathered you together after the Holy Prophet[sa] through our king, the Promised Messiah[as], and after his death safeguarded you against disruption at my hands. Appreciate this divine bounty duly, and do not indulge in futile discussions and speculations. I cannot imagine what moral or spititual benefit do you derive from such discussions. God Almighty made *Khalīfa* one whom He wished and made you submit yourselves to him. It is folly on the part of those who criticise God's action. I have told you repeatedly and have shown you from the Holy Quran that it is not for men to make any one a *Khalīfa*, it is God who makes *Khalīfas*. Who made Adam[as] a *Khalīfa*? God said: I am about to place a vicegerent in the earth (2:31). The angels protested: He will create disorder in the earth and will shed blood. But what did they gain by their protest? You can read in the Holy Quran that they had to submit in the end. If any one should find fault with me, and even if he should be an angel, I would say to him: It would be better for you to submit to the *Khilāfat* of Adam[as]. Should he refuse out of arrogance and assume the role of *Iblīs*, then he should recall what did his opposition to Adam[as] profit

Iblīs. I repeat that if one even of angelic disposition should object to my *Khilāfat*, his gentle nature would persuade him to submit to Adamas, but if he is an *Iblīs* he will depart from this exalted company.

Davidas was another *Khalīfa*, as is said: David, We have made thee a vicegerent in the earth (38:27). He too was made a *Khalīfa* by God. His opponents were anarchists, some of whom penetrated into his citadel, but who could succeed in opposition to one whom God had made a *Khalīfa*?

Then God Almighty made Abū Bakrra and 'Umarra *Khalīfas*, may Allah be pleased with both of them. The *Rāfaḍīs* are still mourning over their *Khilāfat*. But see you not that millions call down blessings on Abū Bakrra and 'Umarra. I call God to witness that I too have been made *Khalīfa* by God. This mosque has pleased my heart. I have supplicated earnestly on behalf of those who have in any way contributed towards its construction, and I am sure that my supplications have reached the Throne. Having arrived in this city and standing in this mosque which has pleased me so much, I declare that as God Almighty made Adamas, Davidas, Abū Bakrra and 'Umarra *Khalīfas*, in the same way it is He Who made me *Khalīfa*.

Should any one say that the *Anjuman* has made me *Khalīfa*, he would utter a lie. Such ideas lead to ruin, be on your guard against them. Listen with attention once more, no man or *Anjuman* has made me *Khalīfa*, nor do I consider any *Anjuman* competent to make any one a *Khalīfa*. No *Anjuman* has made me

Khalīfa, nor would I have attached any value to any *Anjuman's* doing so. I would not so much as spit on any *Anjuman's* repudiation of me. No one has the power to deprive me of this robe.

Who do they think was entitled to be *Khalīfa*? There is my very dear Maḥmūd[ra] who is the son of my master and my benefactor. Then there are his son-in-law Nawab Muhammad 'Alī Khān[ra], his father-in-law Mīr Nasir Nawab[ra], and his wife the Ummul Mu'minīn[ra]. These are the only ones who may be deemed to have a claim to the *Khilāfat*. Yet it is curious that those who assert that their right has been usurped do not reflect that they are all obedient and loyal to me. They have not presented their claim to these critics. The descendants and close relatives of Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] are all devoted to me. I tell you truly that there is not one of you who obeys me as do my dear ones Maḥmūd[ra], Bashīr[ra] and Sharīf[ra], and as do Mīr Nasir Nawab[ra] and Nawab Muhammad 'Alī Khān[ra]. I do not affirm this to please them, but state it as a fact that they love me out of the desire to win the pleasure of God. I have heard the Ummul Mu'minīn affirm a score of times that she deems herself my servant. Mīyāń Maḥmūd[ra] is grown up, he will tell you that he obeys me sincerely. A critic might say that he does not obey me sincerely, but I know for certain that he is truly, obedient to me, more than any one of you. All the members of Ḥaḍrat Mirzā Sahib's[as] family obey me as 'Alī[ra], Fatima[ra] and 'Abbās[ra] obeyed Abū Bakr[ra] even more so. Every one of them is so devoted to me that I cannot conceive any of them entertaining a wrong notion about me.

Listen. I had never any desire that I should become *Khalīfa*. Before I became a disciple of Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as], I dressed as I dress today. I have kept company in a situation of honour with the high and the mighty dressed in the same manner. After I became the disciple of Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] I made no change in my mode of life. After his death God did as He willed. It had never crossed my mind that I would be *Khalīfa*, but God so willed it out of His wisdom that He made me your Imam and *Khalīfa*, and made those whom you consider entitled to the *Khilāfat* obedient to me. Now who are you to object? If you must find fault, go and find fault with God, but beware of the chastisement for such impertinence and disrespect. I do not flatter any one, I do not desire even to be greeted by any one. I do not need your offerings and your provisions. May God save me from entertaining even the idea of seeking for them. God Almighty has bestowed hidden treasures upon me, of which no man nor creature has any knowledge. My wife and children do not depend upon any of you. God provides for them. What can you provide for any one? Allah is Self-Sufficient; it is you who are needy (47:39).

He who is present should listen carefully, and should convey it to those who are not present, that the idea that those entitled to the *Khilāfat* have been deprived of it is the notion of the *Rafḍīs*, and must be shunned. God Almighty has made *Khalīfa* with His own hand one whom He deemed entitled to the *Khilāfat*. He who opposes him is false and rebellious. Be angels and submit and obey; be not like *Iblīs*.

Your raising a contention about the *Khilāfat* has the flavour of *Rafḍ*. You should complain to God that a dweller of Bhera became the *Khalīfa*. Then there are those who say: What does the *Khalīfa* do? Some say: He only teaches the boys. Some say: He is but a lover of books and is always preoccupied with books. You may find a thousand faults with me, all your fault-finding will be directed against God Who made me *Khalīfa*. These fault-finders are like *Rafaḍīs* who go on finding fault with Abū Bakr[ra] and 'Umar[ra].

Another question on which you differ and raise contentions is: What is the status of our opponents? Now listen carefully. The Word of God has expounded the principles with regard to the acceptance and rejection of a Prophet. Whenever a Prophet has appeared there has been no difficulty with regard to the classification of those who believe in him and those who disbelieve. Casuistry apart, God Almighty has set forth clearly the principles of disbelief, faith and association of partners with Allah. There have been Prophets in the past. In each case there were those who believed and those who disbelieved. Have you had any doubt concerning them; and have you had any problem about the classification of those who did not believe in them?

You have been told of the principles of belief and disbelief. Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] was a Messenger of God. Had he not applied the term Prophet to himself, he would have been guilty of rejecting the Hadith narrated in the compilation of Muslim in which the one who was to come was named a Prophet. The question of believing

in him or rejecting him is clear. If one who rejects him professes to be a Muslim he is that much closer to you, as the Christians are closer to you than the Jews. In the same way the Muslims who reject Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] can be closer to us than the others. He who believes in Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] and rejects me is like the *Rafḍīs* who reject the companions of the Holy Prophet[sa]. The matter is quite clear, but the idlers occupy themselves with futile contentions.

Then some of my friends say that the members of the community in Lahore obstruct the *Khilāfat*. I have studied the Holy Quran and Hadith with teachers, and I believe in them sincerely. My heart is filled with love of the Quran and Hadith. I spend thousands of rupees on purchasing books on biography and history relating to Islam. All this study has confirmed my belief that no one can obstruct that which God determines to carry through. I have mentioned that Adam[as] and David[as] were *Khalīfas* and have referred to Abū Bakr[ra] and 'Umar[ra], who succeeded our lord and master as *Khalīfas*. I have also told you that as Abū Bakr[ra] and 'Umar[ra] were *Khalīfas*, in the same way God Almighty has made me *Khalīfa* after Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as]. But here is something more. God has said: Then We made you successors in the earth (10:15). You too were made *Khalīfas* in the earth, though that is a different type of *Khilāfat*. Thus it is only God who makes *Khalīfas*, and no one has the power to obstruct Him.

Lahore is not my home. My home is Bhera, and now it is Qadian. I tell you that no

one in Lahore has obstructed nor can obstruct my *Khilāfat*. Do not think ill of any one. If you have believed, be grateful to God; else seek steadfastness. Despite my illness which makes standing up painful for me, I am taking advantage of this opportunity to impress upon you that *Khilāfat* is not a casual affair to be taken light-heartedly. You can derive no benefit from these contentions. No one will make you *Khalīfa*, nor can any one else become *Khalīfa* in my lifetime. When I die only that one will stand forth whom God wills, and God will raise him Himself. You have taken the pledge at my hands, do not fancy yourselves in the role of *Khalīfa*. God has made me *Khalīfa* and I cannot be removed at your bidding, nor has any one the power to remove me. If you assert yourselves too much, then remember that I have such Khālid bin Walīd who will punish you as traitors.

Hearken! My prayers reach the Throne, and my Lord fulfils my designs even before I supplicate Him. To contend with me is to contend with God. So desist and repent. Hold your peace for a short while; then he who follows after me will deal with you as God wills.

Some of the matters on which you differ have been pronounced upon by Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as]. He who goes against his pronouncement is not an *Aḥmadī*. On matters on which he has expressed no view you are not at liberty to philosophize without my permission. So hold your pens and tongues concerning such matters till the *Khalīfa* broaches them, or till his *Khalīfa* appears. Do

not, therefore, venture to expatiate on matters on which our Imam and Leader has been silent, else your writings will be rendered waste. You cannot take shelter behind the excuse that you have to take up your pens as I do not take up mine. Read my books Nūr-ud-Dīn, *Taṣdīq Brāhīn-e-Aḥmadiyya*, *Faṣalul Khitāb*, *Abṭāl Alūhiyyāt-e-Masīḥ* and you will realise that I know well how to write. I am restrained only by Divine wisdom; Yes, indeed, it is God Who has restrained me.

I admonish you once more. Have some regard for my age and my illness. Then consider whether your contentions will bring you any closer to God. If not, lend ear to what I say and cultivate love for each other. So behave that observing you I should be pleased as I have been pleased by seeing this mosque on my visiting this city. May God so ordain that on departure I should hear that you are united and love each other. Have constant recourse to prayer. I shall also pray for you."[110]

Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ often related the following incident that was a typical illustration of his method of reasoning: A non-*Aḥmadī* Maulawī invited me to dinner. When I arrived I found that he had also invited another non-*Aḥmadī* Maulawī, who was seated next to me. He talked very amicably to me on doctrinal matters. He professed that he believed that Jesus[as] had died a natural death, he esteemed Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] a righteous personage, and was in agreement with him on all matters, and was like a disciple of his, but would like to make an enquiry from me on a small point. What did I think of one who did not accept his claim? I said to him: There is an easy way of

determining this question. We have Moses[as] and we have Muhammad[sa], the Messenger of Allah and then we have the Messiah of the Mosaic dispensation, and the Messiah of the Islamic dispensation. You know what to think of one who rejects Moses[as] and you know also what to think of one who denies Muhammad[sa], the Messenger of Allah. Now whatever you think of one who denies the Mosaic Messiah[as], you can apply the same to one who denies the Islamic Messiah[as]. On hearing this the host called to his son: "Have the dinner served quickly; it is not an easy matter to argue with him."[111]

On July 25, 1912, Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] laid the foundation of the new building of Ta'līmul Islam High School with the observation:

> "I have read somewhere that if forty believers join in making a supplication, God, of His grace, accepts the supplication. On this occasion more than forty of us are gathered together here. Some of us may have committed some default. They should repent of it and seek forgiveness for it. Then we shall pray together that Allah, the Exalted, may be pleased to prepare in this school virtuous, rightly-guided servants of the faith; that He may be pleased to keep away from this school such as are evil-minded and are likely to lead others astray, and if any such should come here He may enable them to repent truly. The purpose of this school is that pious and righteous scholars should emerge from this school."[112]

All present then joined him in silent supplication.

Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] was asked by a non-*Aḥmadī* Maulawī: Was the Mirza Sahib[as] an erudite divine? His reply was:

> "He was not very learned in the scholastic sense. His father had appointed Gul 'Alī Shāh, a Shia Maulawī of Batāla, his tutor in his boyhood. But God Almighty had bestowed such erudition upon him that the great divines of India and Arabia were not able to produce the like of his Arabic books. He had great faith in prayer, and in answer to his prayers God had bestowed all requisite knowledge upon him."[113]

Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] believed that the same would be the case with the promised son of Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as], Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra], who has given the following account of his learning from him:

> "I learnt the Holy Quran from Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] I in six months' time. As I had a delicate throat, he would not let me read out the text. He read it out himself and translated it, and I just listened. Thereafter he made an oral commentary on certain points and completed that in a month. I attended his public lessons on the Holy Quran, but that was all the personal tuition he gave me. Then he took me through *Bukhārī's* compilation of Hadith in three months' time. Ḥāfiẓ Raushan 'Alī[ra] had joined me in the lesson. He was very intelligent and often sought explanations. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] furnished the explanations. On one or two occasions I also asked a question and received an answer. On the third occasion when I asked a question, he said: Mīyāń, Ḥāfiẓ Sahib is a Maulawī type of

person. He asks questions and I reply to his questions; but I will not answer your questions. That which I know, I tell you; I cannot tell you that which I do not know. You are a servant of God, and so am I. You are a follower of Muhammad[sa], the Messenger of Allah and so am I. The defence of Islam is not only my function, it is yours also. You should reflect and find the answers. Do not ask me. Thereafter I put him no more questions. I consider that was the most valuable lesson he taught me."[114]

How can man avoid sin, is a question the answer to which Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] had sought from many eminent personages. The response of Maulānā Muhammad Qāsim Nānautwī was:

"The remembrance of death safeguards a person against sin."

The remedy suggested by Shāh ‘Abdul Ghanī Mujaddadī was:

"A person who always keeps God in the forefront of his mind is safeguarded against sin."

The Promised Messiah[as] said:

"Constant supplication for suppression of the tendency towards sin (*istighfār*) is a safeguard against sin."[115]

Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] felt that keeping company with the righteous and constant supplication were also effective remedies. In his own case on one occasion he had recourse to a device whereby a copy of the Holy Quran was always within his sight, so that he could admonish himself: You believe in that Book and yet you are inclined to disobey it. This held him

back till the idea was driven out of his mind. He opined that all these devices are helpful. Some are influenced by one and others are influenced by another. The main thing is that one should persist in the effort till success is achieved.[116]

The Annual Conference of 1912 was held on December 25 to 27. In the course of his address to the Conference Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] observed:

> "When a person's relationship with God continues to make progress, God commands Gabriel[as] to establish relationship with him and he begins to derive benefits through the angels. Such experience is becoming rare. I do not affirm it out of self-esteem, pride or arrogance, but only as an illustration of divine bounty, that I have seen such angels and they have helped me in a manner that cannot be conceived of. They have asked me to note how they were helping me."[117]

He mentioned instances of the extraordinary success achieved by the companions of the Holy Prophet[sa] as illustrating the benefits of keeping company with the righteous, and stressed the blessings of obedience and submission to Allah. Be mindful of your duty to Allah in all respects, every moment of your lives, so that death, whenever it overtakes you should find you in a state of complete submission to Him. Take fast hold, all together, of the rope of Allah and be not divided (3:103-104). He admonished on the cultivation of mutual love and affection, and accord and unity, and urged the discarding of enmity, hostility and division.

He concluded with:

> "When the worldly ones said to me: We have made you our chief, what should be your monthly allowance? I turned to God and supplicated: Lord, Thou hast never made me dependent upon anyone. Wilt Thou now, when I am approaching my end, make me dependent upon Thy creatures! He has been most gracious to me, and has provided for me whence I could not conceive of. All I ask of you is: Give your faith priority over the world; shun greed, deceit and mischief."[118]

December 27 was a Friday. In the course of his sermon Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] observed:

> "This mosque (Masjid Nūr) bears my name, but it is small. It should be enlarged, but for the propagation of virtue. Establish a school in it, for teaching the Holy Quran. The Ta'līmul Islam School has a good building, receives a grant from government and is well looked after; but no one looks after *Madrassa Aḥmadiyya*, which is neglected. I drew attention to it, and a committee was set up, but nothing practical came of it."[119]

Ḥāfiẓ Raushan 'Alī[ra], the principal pupil of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra], stated that the latter had noted down in a note book some of the benefits he had derived from his residence in Qadian. One of them was:

> "Before moving to Qadian I had made every effort to win over at least one friend who should love me solely for the sake of Allah, and I spent thousands of rupees in this quest, but I did not succeed. When I came to Qadian God Almighty bestowed on me a whole company of

friends such as my soul had thirsted after and it cost me not a penny.

Another benefit I derived from the company of Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as] was that the love of the world died altogether in my heart. Observe every aspect of my life. Is there a particle of the love of the world in me? All this is the result of the grace of the holy company of Ḥaḍrat Mirza Sahib[as]. There is the well known saying: The love of the world is the source of every delinquency. I have derived that benefit from the company of Ḥaḍrat Mirzā Sahib which is the purpose of all divine teachings, is the source of salvation and bestows a heavenly life in this very world."[120]

Dr. Bhagwān Dās Kushta, Headmaster of a school in Sahāranpur, presented himself before Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] on March 22, 1913, and declared his acceptance of Islam. He admonished the convert in these terms:

"There is no god besides Allah means that it is Allah alone Who creates and provides all that man needs. No one else is to be worshipped or taken as God. To worship any one else beside God or to prostrate oneself before any one is shirk (associating partners with God). While Islam enjoins the Unity of God, it requires the affirmation that Muhammad[sa] is His servant and Messenger. That is because in the past whenever a righteous one appeared in the world, some time later his followers deified him. That is what happened in the case of Rām Chandra[as] and Krishna[as]. Jesus[as] has also been deified and called the son of God, though he had said: Why callest thou me good? There is

no one good but God. Therefore, the Holy Prophet[sa] apprehending lest he should also be deified, added his being a servant and Messenger of Allah to the affirmation: There is no god besides Allah. The second aspect of Islam is compassion for God's creatures. Zakat and the pilgrimage inculcate compassion for people, and the *Ṣalāt* and fast instil compassion for oneself. There is great blessing in the fast. It trains a person in refraining from unlawful use of anything; for one who during the fast, gives up that which is lawful, will, believing in Muhammad[sa] surely refrain from that which he has declared unlawful. Thus the purport of the credo is to inculcate the Unity of God, and that Muhammad[sa] is His servant and Messenger, and that the *Ṣalāt*, fast, Pilgraimage and Zakat have been instituted for the benefit of the individual as well as society at large. What benefit is there in sprinkling water over a person as a token of his having adopted a faith? Jesus[as] has said it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God."[121]

He concluded with a prayer for the convert and approved 'Abdullāh as his name.

In the autumn and winter of 1912-1913 Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra] went on a visit to Egypt and the Ḥijāz, during the course of which he also performed the Pilgrimage. He returned to Qadian on February 3, 1913. In the summer of that year he decided, with the approval of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ, to start the publication of a weekly paper, which the latter named *Al-Faḍal*. The first issue was published on June 19, 1913.

Subsequently it became a daily and has now been for more than half a century the official organ of the Ahmadiyya Movement.

Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] suffered from a bout of high fever on June 25. The next day, though he was still very weak, he gave his daily lesson of the Holy Quran, and at the end of it observed:

> "When I fall ill I apprehend it might be the end, and I had the same feeling this time. I performed two *Rak'ās* of prayer. In the first *raka'ā*, after the *Fātiḥah*, I recited Surah *Ḍuḥā* (93), and in the second *Rak'āh* I recited Surah *Inshirāḥ* (94). Then I occupied myself with Allah's praise and *Istighfār*. Thereafter I made a supplication which I am sure has been granted. I repeat it so that you may all join in it. It is this: There is no god besides Allah, the All-Knowing, the Benevolent. There is no god besides Allah, Lord of the Great Throne. There is no god besides Allah, Lord of the heavens and the earth, Lord of the Noble Throne. I beg of Thee the sources of Thy mercy, and the determination of Thy forgiveness, and a generous portion of every good, and security from everyone. Do not leave any of my defaults unforgiven, nor any of my sorrows unrelieved, nor any of my valid needs unfulfilled, O Thou Most Merciful One. Lord, we are sore pressed from every direction, Islam is under severe attack. The Muslims are apathetic, and have little knowledge of the faith, or of the Holy Quran, or of the example of the Holy Prophet[sa]. The enemy is advancing. Lord, do Thou raise someone who should possess a magnetic personality, should not be slothful, should

possess high courage, should be persevering, should have constant recourse to prayer, should have fulfilled Thy pleasure, and should have knowledge of the Holy Quran and of true Hadith. Then bestow upon him a community whose members should also possess all those qualities. Lord, if there are to be trials make them steadfast, and burden them not with that which they have not the strength to bear (2:287); and foster them as I have supplicated.

I feel Allah will grant my wish. Do you also supplicate in the same vein, and do you also become helpers in the cause of Allah."[122]

The following day being Friday, he exhorted the congregation in the second part of his sermon as follows:

"I have nothing to stress but prayer. Be constant in supplication. I urge you to it for your own benefit. I desire nothing from you, not even that you should stand up to show your respect for me. Were I to expect anything from you, I would be guilty of gross ingratitude to God. Will He who has bestowed His bounties upon me throughout, beyond my expectation, now make me dependent upon you in my old age for my few remaining days? ... His continuous bounties entail that I should be wholly His. All my faculties are a bounty of His, all the honour and respect that I enjoy are also His gifts."[123]

It is a surprising fact that all the admonitions of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] urging accord and unity among the members of the Movement, all his warnings of the dire consequences of division and dissension

had no more than a temporary, if at all any, effect upon the hard core dissentients. Indeed they appeared only to stiffen their obduracy. It is true that the bulk of the community, being duly alerted and warned, was safeguarded against the cunning wiles of the small, but influential, intransigent minority; and that was a truly great achievement. Yet it is a pity that a parting of the ways was not altogether averted.

The leadership of the dissentients was concentrated in Lahore. As the health of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] continued at best indifferent, and then began to suffer a decline, the dissentient group began active preparations to meet the inevitable crisis. The first overt step they took was that they started the publication of a paper from Lahore which they named *Paighām-e-Ṣulḥ* (Message of Peace). The first issue was published on July 10, 1913. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] became a subscriber but later refused to receive it and was so outraged by its policies and performance that he dubbed it *Paigham-e-Jang* (Message of war). From time to time professions of loyalty to the Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] were published in it, but they lacked conviction. A regular campaign of denigration of Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra] was carried on. It was feared that despite his youth he would be the choice of the community as Successor to Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra], who made no secret of the high esteem in which he held the Ṣāḥibzāda[ra]. The distinctive beliefs and doctrines of the Movement, as set forth by the Promised Messiah[as], repeatedly endorsed by Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] and hitherto subscribed to by the leading dissentients themselves, began to be systematically eroded and watered down with a view of winning popularity with the mass of the orthodox.

Despite his declining health Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] completed a lesson of the whole of the Holy Quran during the month of Ramadan in August-September 1913.

The main attack was delivered on behalf of the dissentients behind the thin and cowardly veil of anonymity in October 1913, in the shape of two tracts published, one after the other at a short interval, under the captions *Iẓhārul Ḥaq I* and *Iẓhārul Ḥaq II*. They were a despicable and shameful performance full of false and slanderous allegations against Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] and members of the family of the Promised Messiah[as], including Ḥaḍrat Ummul Mu'minīn. The fact that they were inspired by the leadership of the dissentients, despite their disclaimer, is established by the statement published in *Paighām-e-Ṣulḥ* of November 16, 1913, by the editors to the effect:

> "From what we have seen of the tracts there cannot be the least doubt that most of the statements made in them are true ... Should the *Anṣārullāh* of Lahore deem it appropriate to move in the matter and should they contemplate writing something against us in order to create a misunderstanding on account of our endorsement of the statements contained in the tracts, they will be responsible for whatever retort we may have to publish."[124]

Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] directed the *Anjuman Anṣārullāh* to prepare and publish a rejoinder to the tracts. When the manuscript of the rejoinder was submitted to him he examined it and noted on it: *Paighām* (*Ṣulḥ*) has earned a thousand reproofs by sending us the message of war by publishing its open letter, and has thus proclaimed its hypocrisy.

Accursed is one who seeks to awaken a sleeping calamity.

The rejoinder was set out in two pamphlets *Khilāfat Ahmadiyya*, published on November 23, and *Iẓhār-e-Ḥaqīqat* published on November 28, 1913. It proved most effective as a complete rebuttal of the scandalous, slanderous and fallacious allegations made in the offending tracts and fully safeguarded the community against the mischief that the tracts were designed to stir up.

When Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] was seriously ill after his fall from a mare he saw in a dream that someone had put a rupee in his pocket. He interpreted this as meaning that a son would be born to him. The dream was fulfilled on November 18, 1913, when he was blessed with a fifth son whom he named ‘Abdullāh.

The Annual Conference of 1913 was held on December 25-27. The attendance was much larger than at any previous Conference. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra], in the course of his address, observed:

> "The fulfilling of covenants is a binding obligation. I invite your attention to one of your covenants, so that you may reflect how far are you fulfilling it. That is the covenant of obedience you have made with me. Then there are those miserable ones among you who say: What is the *Khalīfa*? He is a dotard. Observe, listen and remember that Allah, the Glorious, has Himself made me *Khalīfa*, and I am not dependent upon any of you for anything. I have prayed to be safeguarded against the consequences of advancing age, and He-has safeguarded me. He has bestowed upon me the

understanding of His Word. Your criticism of me is not approved by God. He is jealous on my behalf. Repent of your ill-thinking. He has fully safeguarded all my faculties. All praise is due to Him for all His bounties."

You are not at liberty to bruit about matters bearing upon security or danger. You should convey everything of that character to your Emir or President, for him to take such action as he may deem appropriate. Those who published the two *Iẓhārul Ḥaq* tracts, and the open letter addressed to *Anṣārullah*, and carried on a discussion about the *Khilāfat* had no business to do so. The open letter cut open my heart. Then someone sent me a printed card and asked my permission to publish it! I told him he had acted contrary to the Quran. He asked for permission to do what he had already done. Such people contravene the directions of the Quran, and seek to divide a people whom God had, of His grace, united at the hands of one person. Beware of them. Then someone said I had fallen from a mare and that this signified my fall from the *Khilāfat*, and that this was due to my lack of steadfastness. This is a gross misinterpretation of a vision of the Promised Messiah[as]. God has instructed me in the reply to all this. Shun such people and discard ill-thinking."[125]

After the Conference he recorded the following note:

"Allah, the Glorious, has said in the Holy Quran: If you are grateful for My bounties, I will surely multiply them unto you (14:8). Gratitude for divine bounties becomes a source of further

bounties. Therefore, in appreciation of divine bounties, I express my gratitude to God that He has been very benevolent towards us.

During the current year some foolish people tried to create unrest in the community, and with that end in view published very widely the tracts captioned *Iẓhārul Ḥaq*, wherein I was also made the target of adverse criticism. The purpose of the author of the tracts was to spread discord among the community. But God, of His grace, safeguarded the community and me against his mischief. His help and support was manifested in such manner that all the designs of the mischief-makers were utterly frustrated and the community was shielded against all harm. This was demonstrated on the occasion of the Annual Conference. It was a special manifestation of the help and support of God Almighty that despite several adverse factors and the publication of the disturbing tracts captioned *Iẓhārul Ḥaq*, the attendance at the Conference was in excess of previous years. The countenances of the participants exhibited such love and devotion as bore eloquent witness to the fact that the Ahmadiyya community is fully safeguarded against every evil influence. Moreover the different branches set an example of sacrifice which was evidence of special divine grace. During the current year the community carried and discharged a heavy burden of subscriptions and yet the *Ṣadr Anjuman* was in deficit. The branches cheerfully and joyously undertook the responsibility of meeting the deficit, and a large amount was contributed in cash. Altogether the amount promised and paid in cash was three times the total of last year,

which, in view of the small number of the community, appears to be special divine grace.

The Conference also constituted effective refutation of the misrepresentations of those who sought to construe my falling off from the mare as an indication of my removal from the office and dignity of *Khalīfa*. When the agitation against the *Khilāfat* had started, God had shown me in a dream that I was riding a horse through country that was dry and barren. I urged the horse forward and it began to run so fast that it became difficult for me to control it, but by Allah's grace I remained firmly seated on its back. After traversing a long distance the horse entered a green valley in which all round there appeared thick plantations two feet high. The horse continued to run fast and when it reached the middle of the valley I woke up. From this dream I understood that those who asserted that I would be unhorsed from the *Khilāfat* would be proved false, and that God would not only uphold me, but would bestow success upon me. It is a bounty of God that He has fulfilled this dream of mine also. The Annual Conference of this year has proved that it was a true dream. Despite opposition and the publication of anonymous tracts He has manifested support after support, He has daily fostered love and devotion in the hearts of the members of the community, has drawn their hearts towards me, has inspired them with the spirit of obedience and has shielded them against the wiles of the mischievous."[126]

On February 2, 1914, Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥra issued the direction:

"Remember, no provision shall be made for my children out of any charitable fund, or alms, or Zakat, or out of any fund for the uplift of orphans or the indigent. God will make some provision for them. Any one who writes my biography should mention this direction of mine and should restrain any contravention of it. I have no money. All my debts have been paid off. I do not owe any one anything. No one should claim anything from my children."[127]

XVII

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES

My father Chaudhrī Naṣrullāh Khān[ra], was a lawyer practising at Sialkot in the Punjab. In the beginning of the century he was retained to defend a civil suit in which interesting and intriguing questions had been raised for judicial determination. Some years earlier Maulawī Mubārak ‘Alī, Imam and *Mutawallī* of the large well-endowed Jāmi‘a Masjid in Sialkot Cantonment, had joined the Ahmadiyya Movement. His identification with a set of doctrines that were vehemently condemned by orthodox divines, became a source of irritation and uneasiness for the bulk of the congregation at the mosque, which was gradually fanned into intolerance and hostility. A number of them finally instituted a representative suit seeking a declaration that by joining the Ahmadiyya Movement the defendant, Maulawī Mubārak ‘Alī, had ceased to be a Muslim and was no longer competent to function as Imam or *Mutawallī* of the Jāmi‘a Masjid. There was at the time no *Aḥmadī* lawyer at Sialkot, and my father was retained as counsel for the defendant. He made a thorough study of the doctrineal questions raised by the plaintiffs in support of their plea that an *Aḥmadī* could not be considered a Muslim, and found himself in sympathy with the Ahmadiyya point of view. Another matter that impressed him deeply was that the plaintiffs and their witnesses in making their depositions on oath under examination did not hesitate to depose falsely or to twist facts if they felt that a straightforward answer might prejudice their case, while the defendant and *Aḥmadī* witnesses

adhered strictly to the truth without regard to the effect that their statements might have on the result of the case. He felt that the high moral standards of the *Aḥmadīs* disclosed in such a striking manner were indicative of their being based on truth. The findings of the trial judge upheld the defendant and the suit was dismissed. The plaintiffs appealed against the judgment of the trial judge and their appeal was also dismissed. The proceedings left my father very favourably inclined towards Aḥmadiyyat.

Shortly thereafter he was summoned to appear as a defence witness in the court of a Magistrate at Gurdaspur in a criminal case in which Ḥaḍrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad[as], Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement, was being tried for defamation of Maulawī Karam Dīn, one of his bitter and virulent opponents. This gave him an opportunity of meeting the illustrious personage, and he was much impressed with his high spirituality.

About that time, in the summer of 1904, my mother, who had had no contact with or knowledge of Aḥmadiyyat, though her father and only brother had shortly before joined the Movement, was vouchsafed a series of dreams of high spiritual significance in which she came in touch with an eminent spiritual personage who, she felt, was seeking to guide her along the ways of righteousness. The dreams uplifted her and left a deep impress on her mind. She had no notion who the venerable personage was, and in her third dream she begged him to disclose his identity. He told her he was Ahmad. When she mentioned this to my father he observed that as Ahmad was one of the names of the Holy Prophet[sa] of Islam, perhaps she was fortunate enough to have been granted spiritual contact with him. She explained that her feeling was

that the personage she had seen in her dreams was a living contemporary through whom she was being guided to truth and righteousness. Some days later her brother came on a visit to her and on hearing of her last dream told her that Ahmad was the name of the Promised Messiah[as] and that she had seen him in her dreams. She said that she was sure God, who had chosen this method of guiding her, would, in due course, reveal His purpose more definitely to her.

It was announced that the Promised Messiah[as] was on a visit to Lahore and that a lecture of his would be read in Lahore on September 3, 1904, in his presence. My father went to Lahore for the occasion and, very fortunately for me, took me along with him. The moment my eyes fell on the blessed countenance of the holy personage I was entranced, and all through the reading of the lecture by Maulawī 'Abdul Karīm my admiring gaze remained riveted on his illuminated countenance. My mind and soul were penetrated by his truth and I felt I was totally committed to him. I was only a schoolboy, in the twelfth year of my age, but I was convinced that by affording me this opportunity God had richly blessed me with His grace.

The Promised Messiah[as] arrived in Sialkot for a visit on 27th October, 1904, accompanied by the members of his family and some of his disciples, including Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra]. Next morning when my father was about to leave for court, my mother asked him whether she might go and call on the august visitor and see whether he was the venerable personage of her dreams.

> "Go by all means, he said, and find out, but make no final decision."

"Should it be the same person, I would be guilty of default in the estimation of Allah, if I held back after the clear guidance that He has vouchsafed to me."

"This is a vital matter and I would not wish that we should be divided over it. As you know, I am studying it. We shall discuss it together and I hope we may arrive at the same decision."

"You are a learned person, and I have no book learning. But I feel that God, of His grace, has chosen His own way to guide me. If I find that His guidance points in this direction, I must proceed accordingly. If it should be otherwise I shall be glad to discuss the matter with you and we can decide together."

"A brief delay would do no harm. I would dread the prospect of our finding ourselves on opposite sides on so vital a question."

"I have told you how I feel."

I accompanied my mother when she set out on the quest to which she attached the highest importance and to which she was urged on by her soul. Arriving at the house in which the Promised Messiah[as] and the members of his family had been put up, she presented herself to Ḥaḍrat Ummul Mu'minīn and begged her to arrange that she might have a glimpse of her august husband. The request was conveyed to him, and he sent back word that he would be passing through shortly and would stop for a few minutes on his way to the adjacent mosque for participation in the *Ṣalāt*. Presently he arrived and sat down next to Ḥaḍrat Ummul Mu'minīn, a few feet from where my mother and I were seated. The moment she

beheld him her face lit up and with a wistful smile she submitted: "Sir, I would make the covenant;" to which he responded graciously: "Repeat after me what I say." He then pronounced phrase by phrase the words of the pledge and she repeated them after him. At the end he made a silent supplication, in which the ladies of the family, my mother and I joined, and he left. I came to know later as the result of my own observation that this had been most unusual on his part, the more so as the novice was a woman whose husband was not a member of the Movement. No question was asked on either side, not a single word was said apart from the prescribed formula of the pledge. It seemed that there was complete spiritual accord between the seeker and the sought. My mother's soul was at rest, her quest had led her to her spiritual heaven. She never saw him again, except in her dreams, but her commitment continued total and unalloyed through all trials and tribulations, till her last conscious breath more than a third of a century later. Nothing ever disturbed her serenity, her faith was proof against everything and upheld her in all situations.

She stayed on in the company of Ḥaḍrat Ummul Mu'minīn for about half an hour during which was laid the foundation of a close friendship between them that lasted throughout her life. When we returned home she must have felt that within a couple of hours she would be called upon to face the hardest trial of her life, but she was so certain that the step she had taken had been divinely directed that she must have been sustained by the conviction that He Who had led her so far would support her throughout. She had never had any serious difference with her husband, and now they faced a crisis that touched upon the

salvation of their souls. Awaiting his return home she must have supplicated for guidance and strength.

He arrived, and again I was privileged to be a witness of what followed. "Did you go?" he enquired eagerly and anxiously, adding his customary term of endearment.

"Yes, I went."

"Then?"

"It is the same personage;" somewhat tremulously.

"I trust you have taken no final decision."

She placed her right hand over her heart and affirmed: "I have made the pledge."

A pallor spread over his face and his lips trembled, but he made an effort to control himself and muttered: "That was not well done."

Then he called his servant and directed him: "Remove my bed into the next room."

Upon this she raised her voice a trifle and told the servant in a firm tone: "Remove his bed to the men's quarter!"

This must have surprised him for he exclaimed in a hurt tone: "Why so?"

"Because God, of His grace, has given me to see the light, and you are still in the dark!"

He knew she had won. He turned to the servant and dismissed him, remarking ruefully: "She was bound to win."

The crisis had passed to everyone's relief; but my father had still to make his decision, and my

mother supplicated constantly for their spiritual reunion.

One of his colleagues at the Bar was also interested in the Movement, and my father, who was now himself inclined to move forward, enquired from him whether he would join him. His colleague desired clarification on certain points and it was agreed that they should seek guidance from Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra], who very kindly intimated that he would be glad to meet them every evening for an hour or so. There were four meetings, at which I had also the good fortune to be present. This gave me the opportunity of observing Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] at close quarters, and he may have noticed me as the son of his friend Naṣrullāh Khān. Coming away from the last meeting my father enquired from his colleague whether he was now able to make up his mind. He said that the points he had raised had all been resolved. My father enquired: "Then shall we make the covenant?"

"What do you think?" he asked.

"I am ready, if you are."

"Very good then. Tomorrow morning when you come up for Fajr Prayer take me along with you and we shall make the covenant."

Next morning I accompanied my father for the Fajr Prayer service, and on our way to the mosque we called on his colleague to join us, but he felt he was not yet ready to shoulder the responsibilities imposed by the covenant. So my father made the covenant in a private sitting with the Promised Messiah[as] after the Fajr Prayer service. I was also present. My father's making the covenant a short while after my mother had made it was also in accord with one of my mother's dreams. Harmony was joyfully restored in

the family. Ten years later there was a jolt, but it was adjusted in the same fashion.

After he joined the Movement my father spent the greater part of September, the vacation month of the district courts, at Qadian. He also attended regularly the Annual Conference, which was held in the last week of December. I accompanied him on these occasions. There were opportunities of being in the company of the Promised Messiah[as] when he went for his walk in the forenoon and when he sat in the mosque (Masjid *Mubrārak*) after the noon, and afternoon Prayer services. The rest of the time I availed myself of every opportunity that offered itself of being in the company of Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra]. I recall that at one time he used to give a lesson in the forenoon in the *Mathnawī* of Maulānā Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī.

Having matriculated in April 1907, I joined Government College Lahore for the degree course of the Punjab University in May. During the summer vacation of that year when I was at home at Sialkot my father received a post card from Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] to the effect that I should make my pledge of allegiance to the Promised Messiah[as]. In my own estimation I had been a member of the Ahmadiyya Movement ever since September 3, 1904, when I had been privileged to behold the blessed countenance of the Promised Messiah[as] in Lahore, and had deemed myself included in the pledges made by my parents a few weeks later at Sialkot in my presence. Nevertheless, in pursuance of the direction of Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] conveyed to my father, I made the pledge at the hands of the Promised Messiah[as] at Qadian on September 16, 1907. I am most grateful to Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Sahib[ra] for having

conveyed his direction when he did, for with the death of the Promised Messiah[as] on May 26, 1908, the Grand Roll of Honour of his companions was finally closed. On that day of stark tragedy and overwhelming sorrow I was in Lahore and escorted the blessed remains of the departed Leader to Qadian, where, on the following afternoon, Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was acclaimed Khalīfatul Masīḥ, and all members of the Movement then present in Qadian, myself included, swore allegiance to him.

During the remaining period of my college career I visited Qadian frequently, spent a part of the summer vacation there and regularly attended the Annual Conference. I was thus privileged to become personally known to Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] and was the recipient of many gracious kindnesses and favours from him.

After my final degree examination in April 1911, I went home to Sialkot and having spent some weeks with my parents moved to Qadian in June. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] was still an invalid and spent the day in his sitting room, giving lessons, transacting official business, seeing patients and receiving visitors. The injury on his right temple had become a permanent sore and was dressed every day. After the doctor's visit he remained lying down for a short while, and one of his pupils gently massaged his limbs. He was not yet able to go to the mosque for the daily Prayer services, which were consequently held in his sitting room for his convenience. Shaikh Muhammad Taimūr, his favourite pupil and protege, led the services, Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] keeping to a sitting posture. Only four or five pupils formed the congregation. When the call to Prayer from the nearest mosque was heard Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] directed

everyone else to go and join the service in the mosque. On the first day of my visit when the call to Prayer for the noon service was heard and everyone was dismissed I stood up to depart, whereupon Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] graciously and affectionately directed me: Mīyāń, you should join the service here with us. Accordingly, I joined the noon and afternoon services in the sitting room.

There was only one row of worshippers behind the Imam. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] sat at the left end next to his couch. I stood next to him to his right and the other participants arranged themselves on my right. Being anxious not to incommode him and also out of respect I would not stand close to him, but he would put his arm round my shins and move me closer to him. On one occasion Shaikh Muhammad Taimūr not being available to lead the afternoon service, Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] looked round and said to me: Mīyāń, you have read the Holy Quran, please lead the service. I could but obey.

One day it so happened that when the doctor left after dressing his injury, I was the only one in the room. I did not know the proper way to massage. Should I slip out of the room quietly, or should I make an attempt to massage the limbs of the noble patient, which would probably occasion him more discomfort than comfort? As was his wont, he was lying on his left side. I moved quietly to a sitting position on his couch at his back and started my shy, fumbling ministrations. After about five minutes I stopped, intending to withdraw and let him rest. Perceiving this he raised his right arm and placing it round my neck gently bent my face close to his and kept me in that position in silence for a couple of minutes. When he released me he observed: "Mīyāń, I have made many

many supplications on your behalf!" Truly a benediction, the perfume of which has lingered with me through seventy years.

While I was still at Qadian my father wrote to me instructing me to make a number of submissions to Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ, among them a request for permission that I may proceed to England for higher studies. I made the submissions in writing. Concerning myself I wrote that, by Allah's grace, I had done so well in my degree examination that I hoped I would pass it, and that if he approved and granted his permission, my father desired that I should go to England for higher studies. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] directed that my father and I should both seek divine guidance through *Istikhāra* prayer in the prescribed manner, and if both of us were satisfied as the result of prayer I could proceed as my father desired. I informed my father of his direction and supplicated for divine guidance for a week, at the end of which I perceived a clear indication in favour of my father's wish, though personally I was not too keen on going abroad.

The result of the examination was announced and a friend wrote from Lahore that I had passed in the First Division. I submitted the letter to Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ, who was so pleased that he observed to everyone who came to see him that afternoon: "I feel very happy today. He, pointing to me, has passed his B.A. examination; and what is surprising is that he knew in advance that he would pass."

It transpired later that I had stood first in Arabic Honours, and if I had a mind to study for the degree of Master of Arts in Arabic I would be entitled to a substantial scholarship. That prospect appeared attractive to me, but my father's wish was supreme.

In the late afternoon Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] used to adjourn into the open courtyard of his modest residence, which at that time of day was agreeably cool. There also I kept him company. One day he remarked: "This is the hour for games and sports. Have you no wish to partake of some kind of exercise?"

I submitted respectfully: "Sir, I am happiest where I am."

Soon I had to beg for leave to go home and start preparing for my journey to England. My mother dreaded the long separation ahead, and I too shrank from plunging into the great unknown, and making an excursion into regions of which I knew little, and that little only at hearsay, among people whose faith, culture and manner of living were entirely alien to mine. So the preparation involved no excitement, and I experienced considerable apprehension and uneasiness.

My passage from Bombay to Trieste was reserved by an Austrian Lloyd steamship which was scheduled to sail from Bombay on September 1, 1911. My parents, maternal uncle and a family retainer left Sialkot on the early morning of August 28, by train for Batāla and arrived in the afternoon at Qadian. I took leave of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] the next day. He bade me an affectionate and prayerful farewell. He dictated certain directions and prayers which I noted down and also admonished me orally. He bade me write to him regularly. My mother was much comforted by her reunion with Ḥaḍrat Ummul Mu'minīn. Our party departed from Qadian the same afternoon for Batāla and left for Amritsar by train where my mother, uncle and the retainer took train for Sialkot and my father and I caught the mail train for

Bombay, a thousand miles distant. I had not travelled beyond Amritsar before and from that moment onward everything was new to me. We arrived in Bombay on August 31 and I went on board the S.S. Koerber, 4,000 tons displacement, at noon the next day. My father shook hands with me in token of farewell at the foot of the gangway, and beyond the exchange of the customary salutation not a word was said on either side.

Within an hour of the ship's moving from the dock I became seasick, a condition of which I had no warning and knew nothing. The monsoon was blowing at full force and there followed four days of acute, undiluted, bewildering misery. Once out of the monsoon zone, every moment of the voyage proved delightful. After four days of starvation I was ravenously hungry and enjoyed every morsel of the excellent food provided on board. We made Trieste on the afternoon of September 14, travelled north by express train to Ostende, crossed over to Dover and arrived in London early on the morning of September 16.

London was then the capital of the world. Except for the so-called submerged fourth, life was gracious and comfortable and ran smoothly. I was fortunate enough to be provided with suitable accommodation as a paying guest among people who proved very friendly and by whom I was treated throughout with kindness and affection. I settled down to the study of law, and soon felt completely at home except for the separation from my parents. I wrote home every week and heard from them every week. I also wrote regularly to Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] who honoured me by writing back to me affectionately with his own hand. I wrote to him quite frankly about

whatever I found interesting, and in his replies he exhibited keen interest in whatever I had written. I soon became fond of travel and spent my holidays away from London, but when I wished to go abroad I always obtained his permission. In his letters he greeted me affectionately. Sometimes he addressed me prayerfully with:

> "May you be truly Ẓafar Ullāh (i.e. may you be victorious by Allah's grace), or: May you be truly guided and prove fortunate."

His letter of September 16, 1913, addressed to me, has been published. I set out its English translation by way of illustration:

> In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Ever Merciful.
>
> We praise Him and call down His blessings on His Noble Messenger.
>
> Peace be on you, and the mercy of Allah and His blessings.
>
> My very affectionate greetings to Shaikh Muhammad Akbar Sahib: Peace be on you. This is a blessed greeting. It is a pity that the Muslims of India neglect it.
>
> Every journey should have a purpose, secular or religious. Else it is vain.
>
> May the mosque in Petersburg prove a source of blessings.
>
> In Finland the times of Prayer services and the duration of the fast would be regulated by hours. God has said: We have appointed stages for the moon (36:40). This is for the guidance of the people of such regions.

Do consider, dear one, that the budget of the Church of England runs to twenty-four million pounds sterling. If they do not believe in Christianity, why do they spend so much money like water?

Why did the Balkan States, Italy and France shed so much blood in Turkey, Tripoli and Morocco, in opposition to Islam, in the last two years?

Reason lends no support to the doctrine of the Trinity, which might appeal to a sensible person. The decline of this religion is bound up with the Promised Messiah[as]. Its followers are hollow inside, but are reluctant to profess Islam openly.

You should concentrate on propagating the Unity of God. It would be enough to convey to Punjabi and Indian students the name of Allah and of His Messenger.

Do not neglect your Prayers, read the Holy Quran regularly, and supplicate constantly.

What has happened to your German friend? You have not written how he is now. I wonder.

Peace be on you.
Nūr-ud-Dīn."

Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn was a prominent member of the Ahmadiyya community. He was a Iwayer by profession. He had practised law for some time in Peshawar and had then moved to Lahore. He often observed that he had at one time been strongly attracted by Christianity, but his good fortune put him

in contact with the Promised Messiah[as], under whose influence his faith in Islam was confirmed and he became a devoted Muslim. When the Promised Messiah[as] was in Lahore for his last visit and was staying in Ahmadiyya Buildings, Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn saw in a dream that he was arrested by the police along with Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī and three or four other *Aḥmadīs*. They were told that they had been guilty of treason and would be produced before the sovereign. They were led into a large hall at one end of which Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was seated on a throne placed on a raised platform under a canopy. He addressed them saying: "You have rebelled against me. How shall I deal with you?" Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn answered: "You are now the sovereign, you can deal with us as you may wish;" whereupon Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] said: "I sentence you to exile."

Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn mentioned his dream to the Promised Messiah[as] who put him off by observing that the dream did not portend any misfortune for him. He then related his dream to Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn, who fell into a brief reverie, and then cautioned him not to mention his dream to any one. A few days later the Promised Messiah[as] died and Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn[ra] went to Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] and submitted: The time of the fulfilment of my dream has arrived. I am ready to swear allegiance to you. He was told to hold his peace till the representatives of the community had had time to assemble at Qadian and could consult together. Sometime after Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] had been proclaimed *Khalīfa* and had assumed the responsibilities of his exalted office, Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn saw the same dream again, with this variation that this time Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra], as he now was, pronounced sentence in the terms: "You have rebelled a second time. I order that

you shall be beheaded." In the dream Khawāja Sahib was conducted to the place of execution and when the axe wielded by the executioner fell on his neck he woke up in terror.

In 1912 Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn's wife died and he was overwhelmed with grief. His thoughts turned more and more towards religion and he undertook an extensive tour of the sub-continent for the purpose of delivering lectures on Islam. When he arrived in Bombay a wealthy nobleman of Hyderabad, Deccan, who was favourably disposed towards the Ahmadiyya Movement, requested him to undertake a confidential mission of a purely domestic character on his behalf and proceed to England for its execution. He was offered a very substantial fee, and as the mission was of a quasi-legal character, and involved no difficulty, he needed little persuasion to undertake it. He arrived in England towards the end of 1912. Having carried out his mission he made up his mind to settle in England and devote himself to the propagation and service of Islam. There were at the time only three *Aḥmadīs* in England. One was studying medicine in Newcastle, Dr. Ibadullah was pursuing a course of higher training in dental surgery in London, and I was studying law. On Khawāja Sahib's arrival, Dr. Ibadullah made shift to provide accommodation for him at considerable inconvenience and discomfort to himself, in the house where he was residing. For his part Khawāja Sahib was determined to live simply and cared little for creature comforts. Soon, however, a comfortable room became available in the house in which I lived, and he moved over to us. We were thus closely associated during the time that he lived with us and I got to know him very well. He was then thinking of starting a monthly journal which he called *Muslim India and Islamic Review*. Subsequently

Muslim India was dropped from its name and it continued to be published for many years as *Islamic Review*. Our conversation generally turned on Islam and Aḥmadiyyat in which Khawāja Sahib took the lead. I thus gained insight into some matters of which I might otherwise have remained ignorant.

On one occasion, for instance, he remarked: "On the death of the Maulawī[ra] (he often referred to Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] familiarly and affectionately as the Maulawī) there is bound to be trouble with regard to the choice of his successor. Now let us see. There is Maḥmūd (meaning Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra]) but he is only a stripling; and there is Muhammad 'Alī, he is hypersensitive, begins to cry over every little thing. As for myself, I suffer from the failing that I cannot restrain myself from blurting out the truth in season and out of season!"

Unfortunately, my experience of him had been that sometimes I had wished that he had given proof of being so afflicted. But I imagined that he had perhaps a concept of truth which was different from mine. On the question of the succession I reminded him that his concern was both premature and needless. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] had repeatedly affirmed that when the time came God Himself would determine and raise his successor.

Khawāja Sahib was once deeply distressed by observing a scene which recalled to his mind his dream in which he felt he was about to be beheaded. His distress was so terrifying that not knowing its cause, I became concerned. When, after a while, he regained emotional control he related his dreams to me.

Dr. Henry Leitner, an orientalist of repute, was Principal of Oriental College, Lahore, during the closing years of the Nineteenth century. In anticipation of his retirement he formed the design of establishing an Oriental Institute in or near London, and approached Muslim rulers of Indian States for financial contributions. Among his principal contributors were Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, and the premier nobleman and Prime Minister of Hyderabad, Nawab Sir Sālār Jang. On his return to England Dr. Leitner selected and purchased a large area of land near Woking, in Surrey, for his project, and established the Oriental Institute in the area, and also built a small mosque, and a residential unit on a portion of the area. The mosque was named Shāh Jahan Mosque after Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, and the residential unit was named Sir Sālār Jang Memorial House. Woking is twenty-four miles from London, and as there were no Muslims resident in Woking or in its vicinity, no services were held in the mosque and it remained as a sort of museum piece, or an architectural curiosity for visitors.

When Dr. Leitner died, the whole estate passed into the possession and came under the control of the members of his family. About that time, Sayyid Amir 'Alī, Judge of the Calcutta High Court, a public spirited Muslim and a distinguished scholar, well-known for his outstanding works, *The Spirit of Islam and History of the Saracens*, was appointed a member of the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council and took up his residence in London. Another eminent Muslim in London at that time was Mirzā 'Abbās 'Alī Baig, who was a member of the Advisory Council of the Secretary of State for India. These two having taken counsel together proposed to the members of Dr. Leitner's family that as the Institute

and its appurtenances, including Shāh Jahan Mosque and Sir Sālār Jang Memorial House, had been built and established with funds provided by Muslims, they were trust properties which should be managed and administered as a public trust by and on behalf of Muslims.

This was not acceptable to the Leitners, who claimed the whole estate as their property. The matter was then placed in the hands of lawyers and after prolonged negotiations it was agreed that the mosque and the Memorial House and their surrounding area should be handed over to the Muslims and the Leitners may retain the Institute and the large area attached to it. At this stage Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn called on the Right Honourable Sayyid Amir 'Alī and suggested that the management of the Shah Jahan Mosque and the Memorial House may be entrusted to him; in which case he would take up his residence in the Memorial House, and would arrange for regular Prayer services in the mosque. Sayyid Amir 'Alī consulted Mirzā Abbas 'Alī Baig and other Muslims in London and Khawāja Sahib's proposal was accepted. The Woking Mosque Trust was set up and Khawāja Sahib moved into the Memorial House, and undertook the management of the mosque, but the Friday noon service was held in a hall rented for the purpose in Netting Hill Gate, London, which was led by Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn, who came up from Woking for the purpose.

His responsibilities in connection with the management of the mosque and the publication of the *Islamic Review* entailed work that Khawāja Sahib found difficult to carry through satisfactorily single-handed. He requested assistance from Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] who sent Chauhdry Fatiḥ

Muhammad Sial[ra], M.A., an utterly devoted and dedicated *Aḥmadī* young man, in the summer of 1913, to help him. Khawāja Sahib arranged that Shaikh Nūr Ahmad, a very pious but somewhat aged gentleman, who had been his law clerk in Lahore, might travel up with Mr. Sial[ra], so that he might prove useful in looking after Khawāja Sahib's personal comfort.

My life in England was running its smooth course. One of the supplications Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] had directed me to make was: Lord, bestow upon me a virtuous companion. It bore fruit within less than eight weeks of my arrival in London. By a pure happy chance I happened to meet a German student of about my age who had arrived in London for the study of engineering and was entered at King's College, where I was entered for the study of law. He belonged to a family of Pomeranian aristocracy. His father had been a diplomat, but was now retired and was settled in Brussels, where he had large industrial interests. His mother was French. We soon became good friends, and he proved a real brother to me. He was the German friend referred to at the end of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ's[ra] letter of September 16, 1913. Our friendship lasted all through his life. He fought on the German side in the First World War, was twice wounded, won the Iron Cross and was created a Knight of Hohenzollern. After the war we resumed our correspondence. He had lost everything but carried on bravely. He moved to England in 1924 and settled down in London. We often met in London and he visited us several times in India.

While I was in England as a student the letters of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] were a source of great comfort and held my spirits aloft. I often perceived the physical support of his prayers for me. Early in March

1914 had received his permission to go to the continent for my forthcoming Easter holidays. Before I set out the tragic news of his death was received through Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn. When I approached him for particulars he told me:

> "The situation is very confused. I do not know very much. I have received three brief telegrams. The first one intimated the death of Maulawī Sahib. The second said that Mīyāń Maḥmūd had been proclaimed *Khalīfa*. The third said that there was a split and those who dissented were called traitors. I do not know what to make of all this."

In those days mail from the Punjab was delivered in London after seventeen days. I was much perturbed and was full of apprehension but there was no help for it. I left for my holiday, with a troubled, anxious, but prayerful mind. On my return three weeks later I found a whole stack of mail waiting for me. My mother's letter said that a great calamity had descended upon the community. There was a grievous split. Ḥaḍrat Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra] was the rightful *Khalīfa*. She had sworn allegiance to him and I must do the same instantly. My father wrote that it was a question of conscience, and that he would give me no instructions. I must decide for myself after due deliberation and earnest prayers for guidance. A hasty perusal of a selected portion of the rest of my mail satisfied me that the central point of difference was whether there should or should not be an authoritative spiritual Head of the Movement. On that my mind was quite clear; I had not the slightest misgiving. The mail was due to leave that very afternoon. I took up my pen and conveyed my

pledge of allegiance to Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ II[ra]. I also wrote home informing my parents of it.

XVIII

CLOSING SCENE

The health of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] began to deteriorate in the beginning of January 1914. He felt pain in the ribs, occasionally ran a slight temperature and complained of nausea. His strength began to decline, but he remained cheerful and continued his daily lesson of the Holy Quran. When he found difficulty in mounting the steps of Masjid Aqṣā he gave the lesson in the courtyard of Madrasa Ahmadiyya, but he had to be supported in walking the short distance to and from the Madrasa. His weakness increased and the lesson was transferred to a room in the house of his eldest son, which was next to his own house and he gave it sitting. His physicians advised that he should suspend the lesson, but he insisted that so long as he was able to speak he must continue to expound God's Word.

By the beginning of February it was suspected that he was suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis. Dr. Mirzā Ya'qūb Baig arrived from Lahore and in conjunction with Dr. Khalīfa Rashīd-ud-Dīn devoted himself to looking after the august invalid who became progressively weaker, his voice became low and he took little nourishment. On February 14, Col. Melville was sent for from Lahore. He arrived with Dr. Sayyid Muhammad Ḥusain and carried out a thorough examination, as the result of which he confirmed the diagnosis of the attending physicians, approved their treatment and suggested a more nourishing diet. After he left, Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] observed:

> "The doctor from Lahore took a long time in examining me. The disease from which I am suffering is so easy to diagnose that when I am busy in my clinic and someone enters from the door and greets me, I know from his voice, without looking at him, that he suffers from this disease."

In view of his growing weakness, his physicians decided that he should be moved to the residence of Nawab Muhammad ‘Alī Khān[ra], which was situated in a large garden outside the town and where he could be more comfortable. Nawab Sahib[ra] was most eager to welcome him and twice pressed his invitation upon him. At last he consented and the move was made on February 26.

In the beginning of March, Dr. Sayyid Muhammad Ḥusain visited Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra], and in the course of conversation stressed the desirability of cooperation between Muslims of different denominations in the pursuit of common objectives, upon which Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] observed:

> "We have set an example of such cooperation in the matter of the promotion of the project of the Muslim University. Such co-operation is beneficent, but it is necessary to maintain our distinct identity. Progress is fostered by distinction. A general mingling destroys initiative and arrests progress. Besides, we cannot subordinate ourselves to those who reject our divinely commissioned Founder[as]. Then, if distinction is not maintained, enjoining good and forbidding evil are neglected. When a section is distinguished, there is opposition; and as opposition grows

those who are distinguished have more and more recourse to supplication and put forth more and more effort. Always remember, unless difficulties are encountered and one has recourse to supplication and effort, there can be no progress. Difficulties stimulate effort, striving and supplication. A person who is in accord with everything can achieve little."

Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] wrote his will with his own hand on March 4. It ran as follows:

"In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Ever Merciful.

We praise Him and call down His blessings on His noble Messenger.

This humble one, in full possession of his senses, affirms: There is no god except Allah; Muhammad[sa] is the Messenger of Allah. My children are small and I have no money. Allah will safeguard them. They should not be provided for from any fund for orphans or the poor. A benevolent loan may be advanced, to be repaid by such of my sons as are able. My books and my property should be constituted into a trust for the benefit of my children. My successor should be one who is righteous, popular, erudite and of good conduct. He should overlook the shortcomings of and exercise forbearance towards the old and new friends of Ḥaḍrat Sahib[as]. I was a well-wisher of everyone; so should he be. The lessons of the Holy Quran and Hadith should be continued. Wassalam. Nūr-ud-Dīn. March 4, 1914."

He handed it over to Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī and asked him to read it out to those present. He

directed a second and a third reading out, and then enquired whether anything had been left out, to which Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī replied that it was quite right. He then put it in the custody of Nawab Muhammad 'Alī Khān[ra].

The growing weakness of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] gave rise to speculation as to what would be the situation in case of his death. This speculation revealed sharp differences which threatened discord and disruption. In this situation Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra] drew up an announcement to the effect that airing of differences while Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] was in good health would have done no great harm, as he could have restrained and controlled it, but now that he was seriously ill such discussions might occasion trouble, and that, therefore, such discussions, whether oral or in writing, should be held in abeyance till God Almighty restored him to the enjoyment of full health. He sent the draft of the announcement to Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī and suggested that it might be published over their joint signatures. The latter countered that a better way would be if a meeting were called and both of them were to address it in the sense desired. Accordingly a meeting was called in Masjid Nūr and Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī asked Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra] to speak first, who thereupon made the plea that he had proposed to make in the announcement. Then Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī spoke and administered a severe rebuke to those who criticised Khawāja Kamāl-ud-Dīn and those of his way of thinking. He was listened to in sullen silence. In the end he added a few words in a harsh tone on the need of accord. His speech served only to exacerbate further feelings already ruffled.

Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra] continued to occupy himself with prayers and supplications, and urged his friends to do the same. He was not concerned so much with differences of points of view as with preserving the unity of the community, to which he attached vital importance. He talked to several influential members of the Movement and discovered that the general view of those who were in support of the institution of *Khilāfat* and believed in the Prophethood of the Promised Messiah[as] was that they could not swear allegiance to any one who was opposed to these concepts as that would mean the end of Aḥmadiyyat. But he was convinced that unity had priority and should not be sacrificed to personalities. He started persuading his friends that in the event of the demise of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] should there be apprehension of a split they should be prepared to swear allegiance to one of the minority group, because they would not accept any one who differed with them and the community would be divided. But if he swore allegiance to one of them his friends would follow his example and the unity of the community would be preserved. One afternoon he spent two hours in persuading Maulawī Sayyid Muhammad Sarwar Shāh[ra], one of the topmost divines in the community, to fall in with his point of view that in the case of a difference on the person of the *Khalīfa* they should be prepared to swear allegiance to one of the other group. As to matters of difference, so long as the *Khalīfa* issued no directive concerning them,they would be at liberty to follow and maintain that which they considered right and true. If the *Khalīfa* issued a directive concerning such matters they would be bound to obey him and keep silent, leaving the issue in the hands of God, Who was the true Guardian of the Movement.

During the last days of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ’s[ra] illness, Pīr Iftikhār Ahmad[ra], submitted to him that the *Ṣūfīs* had held that the life of a *Ṣūfī* was a blessing both for himself and for others and urged him to supplicate for his own restoration to health; to which he replied: I hear constantly: "Nay, but you love that which is transitory; and you neglect that which is lasting (75:21)." This was reminiscent of the reply that Abū Bakr[ra] gave to a similar suggestion when he was in the same situation. He said: "I have supplicated and have received the response: I know best. I shall do as I will."

During the forenoon of Friday, March 13, Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] sent for his eldest son, Mīyāń ‘Abdul Ḥa’ī, and said to him:

> "I have always believed in: There is no god save Allah, and I die in that belief. I honour all the companions of the Holy Prophet[sa]. After the Holy Quran, I consider *Bukhārī’s* compilation of Hadith most acceptable to God. I believe in Ḥaḍrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad[as] as the Promised Messiah[as] and as a chosen one of God. I loved him so much that I held his children dearer than you. I commit you to God Almighty, and am sure that He will not let you perish. I admonish you to read the Book of God, teach it and act in conformity with it. I have beheld a great many things, but have not beheld anything like the Quran. Without a doubt it is God’s own Book. For the rest I commit you to God."

The time for the Friday noon service approached, and, except for two or three attendants, everyone left for Masjid Aqsa to join the service. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] made *Tayammum* (symbolic

ablution) and performed the *Ṣalāt*. He had just finished when his breathing became laboured and in a few minutes his soul departed from his frail and wasted frame to its eternal rest. To Allah we belong and to Him shall we return.

When the tragic news reached Masjid Aqṣā where the service, which had been led by Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra], had just been concluded, everyone converged on the residence of Nawab Muhammad ‘Alī Khān[ra] to have a last look of the beloved features of one every moment of whose life had been devoted to the promotion of their spiritual and material welfare. Thereafter a large gathering participated in the afternoon Prayer service in Masjid Nūr, the mosque closest to the residence of Nawab Muhammad ‘Alī Khān[ra]. After the service Ṣāḥibzāda Mirzā Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmed[ra] addressed them as follows:

> "According to the Divine will Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] has passed away. May Allah bestow His mercy and blessings upon him abundantly, raise him to the highest ranks and join him to the company of the Holy Prophet[sa] and the Promised Messiah[as] to whom he was utterly devoted and whose love saturated his being. Amen.
>
> A heavy responsibility now lies upon the members of the Ahmadiyya Movement. The whole community faces a trial. He who passes this test shall win the approval and love of God, while he who fails this test shall not be accounted virtuous in His estimation. We must prepare fully for passing this test. Keep well in mind that the most excellent design becomes a source of danger if the motive inspiring it is not

pure. The *Ṣalāt* is an excellent form of worship, and yet it is said: Woe unto those who perform the *Ṣalāt* but are unmindful of it and perform it only to be seen of people (107:5-7). Thus the *Ṣalāt* which is inspired by an improper motive ceases to be a means of achieving purity and nearness to God and becomes a curse.

We are directed to seek divine protection against Satan before reciting the Holy Quran, and every chapter of it opens with the name of Allah which is a way of seeking divine help. That also is an indication that before entering upon so excellent an enterprise as recitation of the Holy Quran one must seek divine protection against satanic doubts and suspicions, and seek divine help for being bestowed the capacity and strength for carrying the enterprise through. Many people win divine mercy and blessing through a verse of the Holy Quran, and the same verse becomes the source of ruin for many. Threrefore, seeking divine protection and divine help are prescribed. In short, however excellent a design might be, unless it is inspired by sincerity and a pure motive, there is apprehension of its driving one away from God.

We cannot discharge the tremendous responsibility that has been imposed upon us on this occasion without being bestowed grace and capacity by God. I, therefore, advise you to spend all available time in humble supplication: Lord, do Thou guide us along the true path so that we may be safeguarded against ruin and may draw closer to Thee. This is a heavy responsibility which we cannot discharge without divine help. Concentrate on the prayer:

Guide us along the straight path (1:6). We do not know what might transpire tomorrow or the day after. It is all hidden in the womb of the future and unless we are guided and helped by the Knower of the unseen we run the risk of ruin. Therefore, supplicate, plead for forgiveness and being shielded against error, seek guidance and call down blessings on the Holy Prophet[sa]. Make agonised pleas: Lord, help us to pass this test by Thy grace. Thy Messiah[as] came and many denied him and stumbled and fell on that stone and ruined themselves; but Thou didst guide us of Thy mercy. On his death we faced a trial and again Thou didst guide us. Now we face a trial once more. Do Thou bestow Thy grace upon us again and guide us, and send down Thy blessings on all our affairs, and let not our enemies rejoice over our discomfiture, and select a holy one from among us for Thy service. Amen.

Let everyone occupy himself with supplication all the time. Get up during the night and supplicate. God resolves all difficulties through His grace. Put your trust in God. All His promises are true. The promises He made to the Promised Messiah[as] have been fulfilled and continue to be fulfilled. A human being may make a false promise, but God's promises are true and He is faithful to His promises. Have faith in His promises and have trust in Him and depend upon Him. I shall now pray and you should join me in my supplications and thereafter continue your prayers."

He raised his hands in silent supplication and so did all who were present in the mosque. Everyone was deeply moved and soon the mosque became a house of weeping. The supplication continued for some time and by the time it ended every heart felt comforted. Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra] urged that every one who was able to do so should observe a fast the next day. He then withdrew and retired to the residence of Nawab Muhammad 'Alī Khān[ra]. But he was restless and felt the urge to pray in solitude. He set forth and requested Maulawī Sayyid Muhammad Sarwar Shāh[ra] to see to it that no one should follow him as he wanted to be alone. He was passing rapidly through the garden when he was spotted from a distance by Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī, who was in conclave with his friends and who came up rapidly and engaged him in conversation. They walked up and down in earnest talk till the call for the sunset Prayer service went forth.

Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra] later summarised this conversation as follows:

Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī:

> "Everything is best settled in consultation. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] having died, nothing should be decided in haste. There should be full consultation."

Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra]:

> "Haste is undesirable and there should certainly be consultation. Many people are arriving and by tomorrow a large number will have arrived. Leading members of the community live within a short distance and will arrive by tommorrow. There can be consultation after their arrival."

Maulawī Muhammad ‘Alī:

"Such speed is not desirable. As there are differences, a decision should be taken unanimously after full discussion. Let the whole community reflect over the matter for four or five months. Then there should be an exchange of views, and thereafter whatever decision is reached should be acted upon."

Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra]:

"The first question is: What are the differences? The next question is: If during the interval there is disorder in the community, who will be responsible in the absence of a leader? On the occasion of the death of the Promised Messiah[as] the people who had gathered together immediately consulted together and came to a decision. This method was followed in earlier times also. There never was a waiting period of six months before the time of the Promised Messiah[as], or after him."

Maulawī Muhammad ‘Alī:

"Previously there were no differences, now there are differences. Besides, what harm is there in waiting for a period? What is it that the *Khalīfa* must do tomorrow?"

Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra]:

"On the death of the Promised Messiah[as] the community resolved that there will be the institution of *Khilāfat* in the Movement. No further consultation is needed on this question, nor can the question be raised now. Consultation can only be on who should be *Khalīfa*? As regards your question: What is it

that the *Khalīfa* has to do tomorrow? The answer is that in addition to spiritual supervision, it is the function of the *Khalīfa* to keep the community united and to safeguard it against disturbance, and the exercise of this function is not visible that I should give you instances. The *Khalīfa* has to carry out spiritual training of the community and to maintain discipline. Spiritual training is not a physical activity to which attention can be drawn, nor is there a time appointed for disturbance that it would not occur before a particular date. It is possible that tomorrow something may happen that might require a supervisory hand. So leave alone the question whether there should or should not be a *Khalīfa*. There should be consultation on who should be *Khalīfa*."

Maulawī Muhammad ‘Alī:

"Now that presents a difficulty. As there is a difference in doctrine, there will be difference on the choice of a person. We cannot swear allegiance to a person with whom we differ on doctrine."

Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra]:

"So far as I know, difference does not extend so far as to be a bar to swearing allegiance to a person on one side or the other. In any case we are prepared to swear allegiance to any one of your group."

Maulawī Muhammad ‘Alī:

"That is difficult. You should reflect further and consult among yourselves and let us meet again tomorrow."

In pursuance of this suggestion of Maulawī Muhammad ‘Alī, Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra] drew up a list of sixty names and requested Maulawī Sayyid Muhammad Sarwar Shāh[ra] to summon those persons to a meeting the same night for consultation. After consultation it was agreed unanimously that before the burial of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] his authoritative Successor should be elected who should arrange for his funeral and burial. It was also agreed that the night should be spent in supplication that Allah may be pleased, of His grace, to maintain the community on the straight path and enable it to tread along the ways of His pleasure, and that the next day a fast should be observed and special supplications should be continued.

By noon the next day more than a thousand members of the community had arrived in Qadian from outside. Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra] consulted with the members of his family on the situation that had arisen. Some of them were of the view that they must continue propagation of such doctrines as they believed to be right, and for this purpose they felt that it was necessary that the *Khalīfa* should be one who was in accord with them on questions of doctrine. But Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra] urged that the preservation of the unity of the community was most important. In his estimation the election of a *Khalīfa* was a religious obligation. If this could be agreed to, the most appropriate method would be to elect a *Khalīfa* by popular vote of those present. Should this not be acceptable, agreement might be reached on electing a neutral individual. Failing this also allegiance may be sworn to any one acceptable to the other group or to one of themselves. In the end all members of the family expressed their accord with his proposal.

At this stage a message was received from Maulawī Muhammad ‘Alī that he desired to resume the conversation of the previous day. He was requested to come over. He arrived in the company of some of his friends. Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra] had with him at the time Maulawī Muhammad Aḥsan[ra], Nawab Muhammad ‘Alī Khān[ra] and Dr. Khalīfa Rashīd-ud-dīn[ra]. The conversation proceeded along the same lines as it had followed the previous day. At one time a discussion started on doctrinal differences between Maulawī Sayyid Muhammad Aḥsan[ra] and Maulawī Muhammad ‘Alī, but Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra] stopped it, and enquired from Maulawī Muhammad ‘Alī what would happen if, after an interval of such length as he desired, unanimity could not be reached? If in that case a decision would have to be taken by the majority, why could a majority not decide now?

In the meantime people had gathered in Masjid Nūr and there was great excitement among them. It appeared that after March 4, when Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] had written out his will and had it read out three times by Maulawī Muhammad ‘Alī, in which he had laid down that his successor should possess certain qualities, Maulawī Muhammad ‘Alī had prepared a pamphlet in which the need of a *Khalīfa*, as commonly understood, had been heavily discounted. This pamphlet was printed and copies of it were despatched to his friends with the instruction that it should be widely published as soon as intimation was received of the demise of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra]. Every one who arrived in Qadian after receiving the tragic news of the death of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] was furnished with a copy of the pamphlet en route. An overwhelming majority of them was seriously annoyed with this mischievous and clumsy piece of propaganda and was anxious that the

election of *Khalīfa* should be proceeded with immediately.

The conversation was making no progress, and there was persistent knocking on the door that the conclave should be speedily concluded. Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra] suggested that as there appeared to be no prospect of an agreement they should all adjourn to Masjid Nūr and consultation should be held with those already assembled there. Thereupon Maulawī Muhammad ‘Alī blurted out: "You say this because you know whom will they elect."

Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra]: "On the contrary, I am prepared to swear allegiance to any one of you."

Maulawī Muhammad ‘Alī: "Even so, you know what they think."

Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra] was now convinced that there was no possibility of an agreement. So he said: We believe that there is a religious obligation to maintain the *Khilāfat*, and you think that a *Khalīfa* is not needed. This difference is irreconcilable. You are free to do as you choose. We shall consult together and swear allegiance to whomsoever we agree upon.

The meeting ended upon this note. Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra] and his companions proceeded to Masjid Nūr, where a gathering of between fifteen hundred and two thousand people awaited them. Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra] led the afternoon Prayer service, and then Nawab Muhammad ‘Alī Khān[ra] read out the testament of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] of March 4, 1914, which he had committed to his custody, and added: "I have discharged the trust that Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ[ra] had committed to me. Now it is for you to act accordingly." His announcement was greeted with shouts of Ḥaḍrat Mīyāń Sahib[ra], Ḥaḍrat Mīyāń Sahib[ra]

from every direction. In the midst of the clamour Maulawī Sayyid Muhammad Aḥsan[ra] stood up and said in a loud voice: The Promised Messiah[sa] said concerning me that I was one of the two angels mentioned in Hadith leaning upon whom the Messiah would descend in the latter days. I consider Ṣāḥibzāda Bashīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ahmad[ra] fully qualified in every respect to accept our allegiance and request him to swear us in. Upon this Maulawī Muhammad ‘Alī and Sayyid Ḥāmid Shāh[ra] both stood up, as if desiring to say something, and began to wrangle which of them should speak first. Those present were not in a mood to indulge them and Shaikh Ya‘qūb ‘Alī ‘Irfānī[ra] gave expression to the general feeling by calling out: "Time is too precious to be wasted in such wrangles. Our master, please accept our allegiance." This was greeted with shouts of *Labbaika*, *Labbaika*, and people began to press forward towards Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra]. The few dissentients then withdrew. No one tried to obstruct them.

A hush fell upon the gahtering, though everyone was eager to approach closest to Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra]. He sat in silence as if occupied in prayer. Qāḍī Amīr Ḥusain, a revered divine, came up to him in great agitation and begged him: "Ḥuḍūr, please do accept my allegiance." Ṣāḥibzāda Sahib[ra] looked up, his eyes searching for someone. He espied Maulawī Sayyid Muhammad Sarwar Shāh[ra], pressed down among the eager throng, and said to him: "Maulawī Sahib[ra], this heavy responsibility has fallen on me suddenly and unexpectedly. I cannot recall the terms of the pledge. Will you kindly instruct me." Thus the process of swearing in began. Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ II[ra], spoke the words of the pledge, as instructed by Maulawī Sayyid Muhammad Sarwar Shāh[ra], and everyone

swore allegiance to him accordingly. The terms of the pledge were:

> "I bear witness that there is no god save Allah and I bear witness that Muhammad[sa] is His Servant and His Messenger (twice).
>
> Today, in the Ahmadiyya Movement, I repent from all sins at the hands of Maḥmūd, and shall, through God-given strength, strive to shun all sins in future; I shall associate no partners with Allah, shall uphold the faith above all worldly considerations, shall strive to carry out all commandments of Islam, and shall obey you in every good thing that you prescribe.
>
> I shall believe in the Holy Prophet[sa] as *Khātamun Nabīyyīn*; shall believe sincerely in all the claims of the Promised Messiah[as]; and shall strive to carry on the propagation of Islam.
>
> I seek the forgiveness of Allah, my Lord, in respect of all sins and turn to Him in repentance (three times).
>
> Lord, I have grievously wronged my soul. I confess my sinfulness, and beg Thee to forgive my sins, for no one save Thee can forgive sins."

When the process of swearing in was completed Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ II[ra] made a prolonged silent supplication in which everyone joined, and concluded with a brief address.

Thus the distracted and bereaved members of the community were once more united in spiritual fellowship. All hearts were comforted, all souls felt at rest. Everyone was deeply moved. Serenity and tranquillity were the prevailing mood.

Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ II[ra] led the funeral service of Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ I[ra]. There was a huge concourse of people, *Aḥmadīs*, non-*Aḥmadīs*, Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, men, women and children were all assembled to pay their last tribute to one whose beneficence had been universal and indiscriminate, whose heart had overflown with love and sympathy for all. Before sunset his sacred remains were committed to the earth on the western side of his beloved master, the Promised Messiah[as], for whose sake he had forsaken all.

Lord, shower the rain of Thy mercy on his grave;

Admit him, of Thy perfect grace, into Thy House of Bounties.

Glorious tributes were paid by all sections of the press of the country to this benefactor of humanity. Reference can be made only to one or two.

The *Zamīńdār* wrote:

> "Among today's telegraphic news the Muslims, particularly the *Aḥmadīs*, will be grieved to read of the death on March 13, after an illness extending over some weeks, of Maulawī Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn Sahib[ra], who was an erudite divine and a learned scholar. To Allah we belong and to Him shall we return.
>
> Maulawī Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was known among his followers as Khalīfatul Masīḥ and was the Successor of the late Mirza Ghulam Ahmad[as]. His death will be a severe shock for the *Aḥmadīs* which shall affect them for a very long time. Even apart from doctrinal differences the personality and talents of Maulānā Ḥakīm

Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] were of such a high order that all Muslims would be grieved by his death. It is said that it takes a century for a man of outstanding genius to appear. Maulānā Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was, by virtue of the vastness of his erudition and scholarship, a man of such genius. We mourn today the loss of an eminent divine. We have sincere sympathy for our *Aḥmadī* friends who have been sore afflicted by this grievous calamity. We pray that the Most Merciful One may be pleased to receive Maulawī Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] into His mercy and to bestow steadfastness upon his followers and the members of his family."

The Editor of the *Curzon Gazette* wrote:

"We had not only known the late Maulawī Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] personally, we were on very intimate terms with him in Jammu for several years. We met every evening. He was very good-hearted and benevolent. He possessed a keen sense of humour. He was tall, handsome, fair-complexioned, and wore a thick beard. He supervised the state schools and hospitals diligently and honestly. He enjoyed a large salary, the greater part of which he generously devoted to the maintenance and upkeep of deserving students. Throughout his life he provided for hundreds of poor students. Shaikh 'Abdullāh, a young Kashmiri Brahmin, became a Muslim through his teaching. He supported him and paid for his schooling and education till he became a lawyer and set up in practice at 'Alī Garh. Shaikh 'Abdullāh took a keen interest in the education of women and

started the publication of the journal *Khātūn* from ‘Alīgarh.

Thus Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was a living example of true benevolence. He had two great passions, promotion of the welfare of indigent students and the collection of rare books. All his large income was devoted to these two purposes. He was very humble and courteous. He performed all his duties righteously. Those who worked under him were well pleased with him and never had any grievance. He was an erudite divine and a great scholar; he possessed great proficiency in Arabic. During his leisure hours he gave lessons in *Bukhārī* and *Muslim*. He had a profound understanding of the faith."

Maulana Abū'l Kalām Āzād, himself a renowned scholar and statesman, subsequently President of the All-India Congress, and Minister of Education in the Government of India, wrote in *Al-Balāgh*, under the caption:

"Farewell Nūr-ud-Dīn—I regret that I am the last in expressing my condolences over the departure of the Head of the Ahmadiyya Movement, and the expert diagnostician of the eternal verities Ḥakīm Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn. A personality that combined a vast expanse of erudition with a treasury of the practical manifestations of true piety and righteousness is no longer present among us. Erudition in all that pertained to the faith and a deep understanding of verities, tempered by wide scholarship that comprehended every type of literature from divine scriptures to masterpieces of fiction, had raised Nūr-ud-Dīn's mind to a level whence it was able to contemplate and

penetrate the mystery of human emotions. That is why a gentle stirring of his sparse but meaningful words imposed the stamp of silence on the high-faluting eloquence of his opponents. The whole of his being was a wonderful and rare compound of the upsurge of faith and wide knowledge. His universe-comprehending vision was a magnetic net of wisdom. His philosophic research in combination with perfect righteousness had laid open the mysteries of heaven before him. His perfect confidence in Divine wisdom inspired all his thinking.

The latter part of his life was devoted to the Ahmadiyya Movement, and his days and nights were spent in laborious striving for the achievement of its spiritual purposes. Doubtless the sincere devotion and utter obedience that he manifested towards his spiritual preceptor had not their equal except among the early Muslims. The attribution of natural death to Jesus[as], who was commonly fancied as dwelling physically in heaven, and the identification of the Mahdi and Messiah as a single individual, was a bitter message for Indian Muslim divines, and the torrent of opposition that this novel concept aroused was like a consuming clap of thunder; but the fierceness of this storm did not in the least affect the firmness of Nūr-ud-Dīn's faith. He stood four-square as a solid mountain facing unmoved the sweeping clouds and the bursting thunder. His sincere steadfastness did not brook that till his last breath he should forsake the rocky pillow on which his troubled and questing spirit had at last found repose. Though I do not find myself in agreement with some of the concepts of the Ahmadiyya Movement, yet I

> contemplate in wonderment the spiritual blaze whose flame has melted my frozen emotions into shedding tears of love.
>
> The honoured personality of Nūr-ud-Dīn is now hidden from our physical eyes, but its footprints continue clearly discernible on the format of the universe and serve as our guide to the mansion of steadfastness. May Divine grace and mercy shed the perfume of amber on his dust."

This is a very brief record of the multifarious and high achievements of that outstanding personality Ḥāfiẓ Haji Ḥakīm Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn, Khalīfatul Masīḥ I[ra]. Considerations of space have stood in the way of a detailed exposition. But one aspect of his great service to Aḥmadiyyat, Islam and humanity needs to be stressed. The Holy Quran had announced that in the latter days the people of the Book would make common cause against Islam and would seek to bring about its ruin, but that God would frustrate their designs and would make Islam triumphant over all other faiths (9:30-33). This triumph was to be achieved through the Promised Messiah[as], not by the sword but by the wielding of spiritual weapons. The Promised Messiah[as] appeared and, under divine direction, accumulated an armoury of those weapons, and demonstrated how they were to be employed to win the hearts of mankind to the service of Islam. He pointed out that he had been sent to pioneer the process of the triumph of Islam and to furnish the weapons by the use of which Islam would be revived by the Movement founded by him, under the guidance of his spiritual Successors. He said he had sown the seed, which would now sprout and grow into a tree with its branches spreading out wide, and that no one

would be able to arrest or restrict its growth. Having accomplished his divinely appointed mission he departed this life on May 26, 1908. The bereavement had a shattering impact upon the members of his Movement, who were utterly bewildered and knew not which way to turn. God put forth His steadying hand and, of His mercy and grace, reunited them under the spiritual leadership of Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] as Khalīfatul Masīḥ. There was not a single dissentient voice. But alas, soon, very soon, murmurs, not of open dissent, but of latent discontent began to rise to the surface and become audible. Some of the leading members of the Movement began to think of democracy, constitutions and Parliaments. Yet, curiously enough they chose the *Ṣadr Anjuman* (Central Association), in which they happened to be in the majority, as their rallying ground, forgetting that, or perhaps because, it was a self-renewing body, neither elected nor democratic, while the *Khalīfa* had been their own, as well as the unanimous choice of the Movement. That aspect, however, was purely superficial. What they grievously ignored was that the *Khilāfat* was a spiritual dignity which had been promised divine support in clear and emphatic terms (24:56). The triumph of Islam was to be achieved through spiritual means under the directions of divinely guided *Khalīfas*. Thus, the issue was joined. Was the Movement to be guided and directed by a divinely appointed and inspired authoritative spiritual Head, or was it to be controlled and administered by a self-renewing registered Association? If it was to be the latter, there would be nothing spiritual about it, and it would be bereft of the divine promises and assurances set out in 24:56. That was the issue that was presented to that valiant champion of *Khilāfat* Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn, Khalīfatul Masīḥ I[ra]. He neither

shirked it, nor evaded it, nor did he yield a single inch of ground under overt and covert challenges and threats. He stood firm as a rock and the waves of discontent and dissent dashed themselves against him and retired in helpless confusion like raging foam. His total reliance was on God; he knew that his stand was justified in Divine estimation. The passage of two-thirds of a century since his demise has demonstrated its justification in the eyes of man also.

If on the question of the status and authority of the *Khalīfa*, Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn, Khalīfatul Masīḥ I[ra], had yielded a single inch, under the persistent pressure of those who fancied themselves as occupying a position of leadership in the Movement, there would have followed a rapid and progressive withering of the tree planted by the Promised Messiah[as], as is indeed observable in the pitiable decline of the dissentient group and their organisation. The divine promise of the triumph of Islam in the latter days would have remained unfulfilled, thus putting the very truth of Islam in doubt. But God's promise never remains unfulfilled. Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] was God's instrument for the maintenance and strengthening of the institution of *Khilāfat*, whereby the triumph of Islam was to be ushered in and achieved. How well and truly that instrument worked may be gathered from the pages of this book, and the results of its working may be witnessed in the flourishing already achieved by the tree of Aḥmadiyyat. Its root is firm and its branches reach into heaven. It brings forth fresh fruit at all times by the command of its Lord (14:25-26). In contrast the tree of the dissentients is uprooted from the earth and has no stability (14:27). The fostering care of Ḥaḍrat Maulawī Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra] insured that the seed sown by the Promised Messiah[as] should send

forth its sprout, then make it strong, then become thick and stand firm on its stem delighting the sowers; that the disbelievers may be incensed threat (48:30).

That was the role that Divine wisdom had assigned to Nūr-ud-Dīn[ra]; that role he performed to perfection.

May Allah, of His grace and mercy, make the highest terrace of the Garden of His pleasure his abode. Amen.

GLOSSARY

Dīwān:	Chief Minister; also courtesy title.
I'tikāf:	Retreat in a mosque during last ten days of Ramadan.
Fajar:	Dawn; dawn Prayer service.
Farūqi:	A descendant of 'Umar[ra] (Farūq), the second Successor of the Holy Prophet[sa].
Hadith:	Traditions of the Holy Prophet[sa].
Ḥāfiẓ:	One who has committed the entire Holy Quran to memory.
Hajj:	Pilgrimage to Mecca.
Haji:	One who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.
Ḥakīm:	Physician.
Hāshamī:	A descendant of Hasham.
Ḥaḍrat:	Courtesy title implying reverence.
Ḥuḍūr:	Courtesy title implying reverence.
Iḥrām:	The pilgrim's garb, comprising two pieces of white unsewn cloth.
Imam:	Leader; one who leads a Prayer service; one of great standing.
Istikhārah:	Prescribed prayer seeking divine guidance in respect of a specific matter.
Khalīfa:	Successor; also a courtesy title.
Khilāfat:	The institution of spiritual succession; Caliphate.
Khawāja:	Master; courtesy title.
Madrasa:	School; seminary.
Maharaja:	Ruling Chief; also a title of honour.
Mālik:	Courtesy title, usually indicative of ownership of land.
Masjid:	Mosque.
Maulawī:	A learned person; divine; also a

	courtesy title.
Mirzā:	Courtesy title of a Mughal.
Mufti:	Jurist; also a courtesy title.
Munshi:	A scholarly person; also a courtesy title.
Nawab:	A Muslim Ruling Chief; also a title of honour.
Qāḍī:	Judge; also a courtesy title.
Quran:	The Holy Quran, scripture of Islam.
Quraishī:	A member of any of the Arab tribes of Quresh.
Rajah:	Chief; also a title of honour, or a courtesy title.
Rak'a:	One unit of *Ṣalāt*.
Ramadan:	The lunar month of fasting.
Sahib:	Master, equivalent of esquire.
Ṣāḥibzāda:	Son of the master; courtesy title for a descendant of a revered personage.
Ṣalāt:	Prescribed Islamic Prayer service.
Shaikh:	Spiritual preceptor; also a courtesy title.
Tahsildar:	Executive head of a sub-district.
Tayammum:	Symbolic ablution signifying preparation for *Ṣalāt*.
Ummul Mu'minīn:	Mother of the Faithful, courtesy title of a wife of the Holy Prophet[sa] and of the wife of the Promised Messiah.
'Umrah:	The lesser pilgrimage

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[6] Ibid p.42.
[7] Ibid p.43.
[8] Ibid p.45.
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[12] Ibid p.63.
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[15] Ibid pp.98-99.
[16] Ibid p.103.
[17] Ibid p.105.
[18] Ibid p.132.
[19] *Karāmatuṣ Ṣādiqīn*, *Rūḥānī Khazā'in* vol.7, pp.149-151.
[20] *Ḥayāt-e-Nūr* pp.139, 140.
[21] Ibid p.122.
[22] Ibid p.177.
[23] Ibid p.181.
[24] Ibid p.182.
[25] *Ā'ina'-e-Kamālāt-e-Islām*, *Rūḥānī Khazā'in* vol.5, pp.581-582.
[26] *Ḥayāt-e-Nūr* p.299.
[27] *Siratul Mahdī* Vol.3, p.614.
[28] *Malfūẓāt* Ḥaḍrat Khalīfatul Masīḥ II 25th Oct. 1960.
[29] *Al-Faḍl* December 6, 1950.
[30] *Nūruddīn* p.146.
[31] *Al-Ḥakam* vol.4, No.25, p.5.
[32] *Ḥayāt-e-Nūr* p.191.
[33] *Risāla Tā'īdī Ḥaq* by Maulawī Ḥasan 'Alī Bhāgalpurī p.64.
[34] Ibid p.69.
[35] *Al-Ḥakam* June 10, 1902, *Ḥayāt-e-Nūr* p.267.
[36] *Al-Ḥakam* vol.6, No.38, October 1/24, 1902, *Ḥayāt-e-Nūr* p.270.
[37] *Aṣḥābi Aḥmad* vol.10, pp.79-80.
[38] *Badr* April 12, 1908.

[39] *Badr* November 16, 1911.
[40] *Ḥayāt-e-Nūr* p.199.
[41] *Badr* September 26, 1912.
[42] *Aṣḥābi Aḥmad*, First Ed.vol.2, p.100.
[43] Ibid p.102
[44] *Badr* February 23, 1906.
[45] *Al-Ḥakam* vol.37, No.13, April 14, 1934.
[46] *Report Jalsa-e-A'ẓam Madhāhib* pp.55-57.
[47] Opcit p.46.
[48] Opcit pp.258-261.
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[50] *Badr* May 16, 1907.
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[53] *Chashma-e-Ma'rifat* p.2.
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[55] *Badr* vol.7, No.11, March 19, 1908.
[56] *Badr* June 2, 1908.
[57] Ibid.
[58] *Badr* June 2, 1908.
[59] *Al-Hakm* May 28, 1908, *Badr* June 2, 1908.
[60] *Haqīqat-e-Ikhtalāf* by Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī p.39.
[61] Pamphlet *Aik Nihāyat Ḍarūrī A'lān* by Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī pp.10-11.
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[63] *Risāla Aik Nihāyat Ḍarūrī A'lān* by Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī pp.10-11.
[64] *Risāla Mir'atul Ikhtilaf* published in 1938.
[65] *Ḥayāt-e-Nūr* p.353.
[66] Lecture by Maulawī Muhammad 'Alī published in *Al-Ḥakam* July 18, 1908, *Ḥayāt-e-Nūr* p.354.
[67] *Ḍamīma Akhbār Badr* January 26, 1911.
[68] *Paighām-e-Ṣulḥ* September 16, 1913.
[69] *Paighām-e-Ṣulḥ* October 16, 1913.
[70] *Al-Ḥakm* April 14, 1908 p.2, *Badr* April 23, 1908.
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[78] *Al-Waṣīyyat* pp.3-5.

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[93] *Badr* October 27, 1910.
[94] *Badr* November 3/10, 1910.
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[98] *Badr* January 12, 1911.
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[103] *Badr* p.1, March 9, 1911.
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[111] *Al-Ḥakam* vol.19, No. 23, 1909
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[116] Ibid.
[117] *Badr* January 30, 1912.
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[122] *Badr* July 3, 1913.
[123] *Al-Faḍl* July 2, 1913.
[124] *Paighām-e-Ṣulḥ* vol.1, No.54, Issue 13, 11, 16.
[125] *Al-Ḥakam* vol.19, No.6, Issue 5, February 7/14, 1915.
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